EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

1936-37

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EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

MAJOR G. B. BALFOUR, K.C.

President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1936-37

EMPIRE CLUB
OF
CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE
MEMBERS DURING THE
YEAR 1936-37

Thirty-fourth Year of Issue

CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

GOD SAVE THE KING

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YEAR 1936-37

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THE MINING INDUSTRY IN NOVA SCOTIA AND ITS PERILS

An Address by THE HONOURABLE MICHAEL DWYER

Thursday, 14th May, 1936

The President: One of the most dramatic events in history, without doubt the most dramatic event in mining history, was being enacted just one month ago today in Nova Scotia. The tense, yes, almost hysterical interest which all the public, within reach of the news of that drama, showed, has left its profound effect on the memory of this generation. It did more than this, I think. It has, for instance, added the word "draegerman" to our common vocabulary. It has shown an example of that spirit of courage in desperate circumstances which has been equally only on the battle-field, if even there.

What is more important, greater than all that, it has, I think, consolidated the feeling of affection between this Province and the Province of Nova Scotia and has shown us the true spirit of brotherhood and unity which is always existing and which is ready to give help in time of need. (Applause.) It has brought us closer to Nova Scotia. It has made a contribution toward that spirit of unity which we seek in Canada itself and in the British Empire.

The Honourable Michael Dwyer was one of the chief actors in this drama. He took a heroic part in that rescue of Dr. Robertson and Mr. Scadding from the depths of the Moose River Mine.

Mr. Dwyer is Minister of Mines of Nova Scotia. He is also Minister of Public Works and Minister of Labour, He is well qualified to speak on all phases of the mining industry in Nova Scotia and elsewhere and what he has to say to us should be of interest to all of us in Ontario.

Mr. Dwyer's rugged physique and his very youthful appearance belie his 59 years of age. I think you will all agree with me, but I would perhaps account for this by the fact that Mr. Dwyer was born in the Emerald Isle, in Tipperary, where there is eternal youth.

(Applause.)

HONOURABLE MICHAEL DWYER: (Mr. Dwyer was greeted with prolonged applause as he arose to speak.) After listening to the very eulogistic remarks of your Chairman a moment ago, I am reminded very much of the story of a coloured lady who had been lately bereaved of her husband. The husband hadn't been of very much use to the community, to the lady or to his family during his life. However, the clergyman called in to deal with the case thought something should be said of a consoling nature, and he eventually waxed very eloquent over the virtues and beautiful character of the lately deceased — "a splendid citizen, a wonderful father, a great help to the community, well thought of by every one." After listening to the oration for a few minutes, the old widow sitting in the corner said to her daughter, "Mandy, would you mind going up and having another look in the coffin and see if that is really your pa?"

I am not quite sure just exactly what I should talk about this afternoon. Something was said by your President of the Moose River rescue and the mining industry, generally. Perhaps the proper thing to do would be to divide the subject into several parts—like our friend the old Scotch minister who was having some difficulty in translating his native Gaelic into the English when he took as his text one day: "And the devil goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." "Now," he said, "Brothers and sisters, I shall divide my subject into three parts. First, "Who the devil he was;" second, "Where the devil was he going;" and, third, "What the devil was he roaring about?"

Much has been said over the radio and in the newspapers in connection with the tragic event which occured at Moose River recently. There were, perhaps, a considerable number of conditions and circumstances in connection with that accident that apparently have never been duplicated in the history of mining. Messages were received from practically all over the world in connection with that catastrophe. It was referred to in many ways and from many quarters, yet in no single message was it claimed that a similar accident had occured within the knowledge of the sender. There has been in the mining industry in Nova Scotia and, unfortunately, in every other country where coal has been produced, many very serious catastrophes—catastrophes of all kinds and magnitudes since coal was first discovered. It is rather difficult to determine just exactly what particular phase of the situation was the cause of such wide spread intense interest. Perhaps it was because of the sustained effort necessary to effect the rescue; perhaps it was the fact that forty men were gambling or risking their lives in the hope of saving three. Who knows?

The first record of coal being produced in the Old Country was in the year 1214, during the reign of Richard, the Lion-Hearted. It may be that our Roman friends who occupied Britain previous to this date, knew something about coal, but if so, no record has been left of the use of coal up to 1214. In that year the monks of the Abbey of Preston found a black stone in the cliff by the sea shore which they discovered could be used for welding iron, just the same as the old charcoal that had been the popular fuel up to that date.

All down through the centuries from that date, accidents and catastrophes have followed the coal mining industry. The black thread of disaster runs all the way through the story. Yet, side by side with the black thread, through the warp and woof of the history of coal mining, runs another bright thread indicating the heroism of the men and women engaged in that industry. Men and women have showed heroism of the highest order in connection with coal mining, not only of Nova Scotia, but of Britain and in fact all over the world. Women have wept and prayed on many occasions, in years gone by, that those who had gone out that morning in health and strength would be returned to them at night. Other women have sat dry-eyed under the shadow of a bank-head, waiting for the rescuers who had gone down in the depths, praying that they might return themselves and bring back to safety the friends that were entombed below.

That has been the history of heroïsm all the way through the ages and perhaps it is not unnatural and not unusual and not unexpected that the same traditions were applied to the Moose River tragedy. In this particular case, three strangers came to Nova Scotia, and met with an accident in the mine. The condition surrounding the accident was different in every way from anything else that had ever occured in Nova Scotia, and we have had many serious ones. One accident cost 125 lives, another 88, another 66, another 77 and 44. We have had fire, floods and explosions in our mines, but in all cases an opening was left whereby the recuers could enter the mine. That opening might be filled with flaming gas and in that case it was a matter of simply closing the mine, sealing it over and waiting until the fire was subdued for lack of oxygen. If it were an ordinary explosion it might have destroyed a great part of the workings; it might have wrecked and pulled down some of the pillars and the mine might be filled with gas. It would be a matter of having especially trained men, with special equipment, known as draegermen, take up the work of rescue. The equipment consists of an air helmet, gas tight, connected to a series of oxygen tanks, carried on the men's backs, and which permits them to enter a place safely which otherwise would result in instant death because of black damp. In other words, they can enter any chamber filled with gas or smoke. All coal mines are provided with two openings, and there has never been an accident where both openings were so closed that the men could not enter from the surface when the proper time came around.

In the Moose River accident every possible opening to that mine was closed. A portion of the surface directly in front of the hoisting engine house, extending over an area of 150 feet by 75 feet, subsided over 15 feet instantly. The bottom seam under the one being worked collapsed and everything from that seam to the surface sank or subsided. The seam is lying at an angle of over 60 degrees and naturally when subsidence took place a great deal of debris, of broken rock, rushed down the slope like an avalanche.

The three men who were on the way up had just reached the hoist on the 150 foot level when the crash came and they just managed to escape because they happened to be behind a small pillar that existed at that particular point. The debris and broken rock reached practically to that point and built up on the 150 foot level right to the surface, completely blocking every opening.

The problem facing the rescuers was to find some means of entering the mine quickly. The 150 foot level was 150 feet down the slope but 105 feet vertically, and there was apparently no means of getting there except by digging through the wrecked slope, sinking a shaft through solid measures a hundred feet deep, cleaning up some of the broken debris in the depression, or possibly by entering the mine through one of two old operations, one known as the Meagher shaft and one as the Reynolds shaft.

As the matter was urgent, and as men and equipment were available in numbers and quantity, it was decided to start rescue crews at all points. One crew of men was placed in the Reynolds shaft, one crew in the Meagher shaft and one crew set to work setting up a diamond drill with the idea of reaching the men quickly and supplying them with food and a connection with the outside world, should the rescue operations be delayed. It was quite apparent to all from the very beginning that the men could hardly be taken out under two weeks. A steam shovel was brought into the district with the idea of digging a hole in front of the depressed area through the broken ground, in the hope of finding an opening in the original slope further down. All methods were carried on simultaneously and continued until the men were finally rescued.

The method that showed the least chance of success was the Reynold shaft. It was known by all that the Reynold shaft was definitely in broken ground alongside of the depressed area and no engineer in his right mind would undertake to try to go through that rock, broken one hundred feet to the surface, if any other means of entering was available. However, a crew was placed there and did what they could for the first few days, but with most discouraging results. In the beginning it was hoped an entrance might be made quickly through the Meagher shaft as it appeared to be on fairly solid ground. It was filled with the debris of years as that particular part of the mine had been closed down some thirty years ago. This shaft was about fifteen feet deep and from the bottom it connected with the main slope, running off at 60 degrees from that point. The shaft was cleaned out and promptly collapsed. It was cleaned out again and timbered heavily to the bottom and an attempt made to proceed down through the slope. The men worked five days in that particular slope and made no progress whatever. They went less than five or six feet. Every set of timber put up immediatey any jacking was done or wedges driven to tighten the timber, simply pushed the floor away and it was realized then that that particular shaft was also over the broken ground and therefore that entrance was practically impossible.

The question has been raised as to why the diamond drill was not sent there immediately. The diamond drill left New Glasgow the moment the men working in the Meagher shaft found that they were not on solid ground and it reached there the following Wednesday night, after travelling 70 miles of country roads covered with spring mud, axle deep, and was drilling Thursday morning.

In the meantime, a second subsidence or settlement had taken place during the week. The subsidence, originally fifteen feet, dropped a further seven feet and when the second subsidence took place, a miracle, I think, that saved the men's lives, occurred. The broken rock fell over toward the subsidence and a fissure was opened up, just a fissure in the rock a little wider than ordinarily and the men who had attempted to go through the Reynold workings abandoned that task and attempted to go through this crack or fissure in the rock which was above the workings, and work their way in the general direction of the Magill slope by working down the grade a little and over toward the right hand side. The tunnel eventually made through this crack at its widest place, was about four feet and three to three and a half feet deep. When huge boulders were met the men climbed over and down on the other side, they went around the side, over and under, wherever the crack seemed easiest. No powder could be used on account of the nature of the work, fortunately the rock was rather of a soft and splintery nature and with small picks and shovels the men eventually won their way until they reached the Magill shaft, about half way down. They found they were up in the roof above the workings and they sank down five or six feet until they found the pavement, in the old Magill shaft and followed the rails to the bottom, sometimes under the rails in the pavement. The rock was too difficult to go through, and could not be held up, no heavy timber could be placed in the mine at that particular place, and so a small tunnel was driven under the rails down to the point where the entombed men were waiting.

Eventually, they reached the men about midnight on

Wednesday night and one can easily imagine the joy that was expressed by all when the two men were brought out alive and in fairly good condition.

The last twelve hours were of course rather exciting for the men below. The mine was still creeping. The roof was settling, cracking, timbers were splitting, rocks were dropping and there was every indication to anyone experienced in mining that a definite further crushing was taking place, that it was taking place not wihin a day or two but that it would probably only be a matter of hours. Whether the settlement would be six inches or two feet, no one of course could tell, or whether it would extend all over the small opening of the tunnel or in any one particular point no one, naturally, could say.

One difficulty at the time and one of the things that had to be decided, was whether we were justified in risking the lives of 35 or 40 men in a desperate attempt to save three.

That problem, has faced human beings in many parts of the world and possibly without doubt, the answer has always been the same, regardless of the common sense that might be applied to it. Critics stood on the bankhead and openly said "This is murder. There is no justification for permitting men to attempt to enter the mine. You may lose thirty-two." But there is only one answer in such an emergency—there is nothing to do but take the risk (Applause) and the risk was taken.

Our difficulty was not to get men to go in the mine. Our difficulty was to keep them out. (Applause.) On coming to the surface at one particular time I saw what appeared to be a serious row going on between the man in charge of the surface and several working men. Four men were standing around the Manager and shaking their fists in his face and using language that was not suitable for Sunday afternoon. I thought to myself, probably some of these fellows' nerves have reached the breaking point, everyone had been working under a very high strain and some one, possibly, snapped. I called the Manager to one side and said, "What is wrong with the boys, Mac? Somebody getting a little nervous? What is the trouble?" He said, "These men are going after me and accusing me of rank discrimination. They say I am permitting other men to remain down in the mine longer than them. They say other men have been in the mine seven hours, working on a six hour shift and that they have been waiting all afternoon for an opportunity to go down. It is their turn and they demand their right to be allowed to go down in the mine." (Applause.)

And that, Gentlemen, was on the last afternoon, when it was quite apparent to all that there was more than serious danger that some of the men who went down as rescuers would possibly not come back but might be left there to keep company with the men they were attempting to rescue.

That was the condition and I am glad of this opportunity to pay tribute to the miners' courage, and when I speak of the miners I speak also of men that came from Ontario, who worked side by side with the Nova Scotian miners and did everything humanly possible and everything white men could do to rescue their fellows underground. When it became known that a serious accident had taken place in Nova Scotia we were besieged and flooded with telegrams from all the larger mining companies in Ontario. Your own Premier Hepburn, I think, must have remained by the telephone almost continually. He was in constant touch with us at Moose River, asking day in and day out, hour in and hour out, if there was anything that could be done, offering all the resources of Ontario towards assistance. He must have sent half a dozen planes with portions of equipment that he thought would be useful. Many mining companies and individuals in Ontario showed the greatest sympathy with the little province by the sea. And the sympathy we received from Ontario went a long way toward encouraging our own men in keeping up the work that eventually resulted in the successful saving of two of the men, and we in Nova Scotia appreciate that sympathy very much.

Your President said something about closer relationship existing now between Nova Scotia and Ontario. I think that is quite so. We in Nova Scotia, perhaps in years gone by, felt that Ontario was so much larger that it paid very little attention to what was going on in Nova Scotia, but this accident, if it did nothing else, has gone a long way toward welding the two provinces together and I am quite sure in the future their relationship will be much closer, much more friendly and much more beneficial to all than it has been in the past. (Applause.)

Nova Scotia has been brought to the attention of Ontario and the rest of Canada. A large fund has been collected in Ontario for the benefit of those who assisted in the rescue, which is appreciated very much, not only for the magnitude of the sum itself, but largely and principally for the spirit behind that fund, the spirit that caused that fund to be raised, spontaneously and so quickly, amounting to over $80,000.00.

Our people, however, did not enter the mine, as you know, for the purpose of gain. They did not enquire who the men were, they did not enquire why there were there. All they knew was that three men were buried and would have to be brought to the surface quickly. There was no question of reward, no question with regard to anything else that might possibly follow a rescue of that nature.

But for many years Nova Scotia has felt that perhaps the trade relations between Nova Scotia and Upper Canada have not been what they should have been. Many of us feel a little keenly on this point, and we go back to the days before Confederation. Seven or eight years were spent, I think, by the so-called Fathers of Confederation, in working out a policy that seemed to be suitable to the whole of Canada. There were difficulties, however, in the way. They foresaw great difficulty in bringing

Nova Scotia into Confederation, and there were men in Nova Scotia who felt there might be some difficulty in Nova Scotia getting what might be considered its fair share out of any such arrangement. Nova Scotia had to give up a great deal. It had to give up practically its entire income and it had to give up almost its entire market. Nova Scotia being a maritime province naturally dealt with the seven seas and with the New England coast and at that time had a splendid market available, particularly for Nova Scotia coal. That market was lost after Confederation. We feel that some consideration should be given to Nova Scotia, that Nova Scotia made a handsome contribution to the Confederation pact. We feel Nova Scotia never got a proper return for its contribution in those days. Some of the Fathers of Nova Scotia, when asked to come into the Pact, as we all know, said, "We will lose our trade," and they were told, "We will find a market for all your products in Central Canada." That is written into the Confederation Pact. Nova Scotia said, "What use is a market in Upper Canada when we have no means of getting there,? Geographically, we are out of the picture. We cannot manufacture in Nova Scotia and move goods 1500 miles," and again they were told as an inducement to come into the Pact, "We shall build you a railway." Nova Scotia replied, "We cannot pay the freight," and the answer, and it is also written into the Pact, "Wherever the goods cannot bear the freight the difference should be and will be charged to the national treasury."

That agreement, Gentlemen, has not been carried out in full. For some considerable time Nova Scotia enjoyed special freight rates to Upper Canada but gradually, as amalgamation of railways took place, those agreements were forgotten and Nova Scotia, for the last 25 or 30 years has been paying freight on the same basis as other parts of Canada and no particular attention has been paid to the agreement under which Nova Scotia came into Confederation, and whereby special freight rates should be granted to Nova Scotia to enable Nova Scotia to deliver its goods in Canadian manufacturing centers.

That particularly applies to our coal and to some extent to our steel. Some consideration was given to the question by the Duncan Commission when a 20 per cent reduction was given but notwithstading this reduction, up to the present time we find in many cases it is almost impossible to manufacture or produce goods in Nova Scotia and deliver them in what should be our proper and natural market.

We must deal with Canada as a nation. We cannot talk provincially any more. If we are going to have a nation and build Canada to what it should be, if we are going to build Canada and make it the country the Lord intended it to be, we must work one with the other. (Applause.) There must be a spirit of give and take. It is not exactly the amount that may be paid for a ton of coal, a ton of steel or a thousand feet of lumber delivered. It is what will that thousand feet of lumber or that ton of coal mean to Nova Scotia, what will it mean to Canada?

I should like to take this opportunity to draw attention to the fact that if the Nova Scotian coal mines were closed, and that has been suggested by people who cannot understand why they should pay ten or fifteen or fifty cents a ton more for coal from Nova Scotia than for coal that comes across the border, I should like you to visualize, Gentlemen, what might happen if the Nova Scotian mines are ever closed. Do you think for a moment you would pay the same price for your coal that you are paying now? Do you think our friends across the way would not take advantage of that opportunity and see that the price was raised until they had to compete with some other country? Gentlemen, the price Nova Scotian coal is being sold for, whether it is higher than American coal or not, is the price that is keeping you coal down to the price you are now paying for it and that fact, I think, should be given due consideration.

Another thing must not be forgotten and that is that coal and steel must be considered a national issue or a national product. That feature, I think, Gentlemen, was brought out very forcibly during the early years of the late war. At that time the great cry was for steel and the Imperial authorities asked whether Canada could supply steel or not and the answer was: If shells are made in any part of the world we in Canada can make the same product if you tell us what you want. The peace time factories of Canada were turned over in 24 hours to the manufacture of shells. We made shells in Nova Scotia in factories in which neither the General Manager nor the water boy had ever previously seen a shell manufactured. Nova Scotia steel and Nova Scotia limestone and Nova Scotia coal, and Nova Scotia men, went a long way toward preventing many of us from having to work for a German boss today. Those things should be considered.

Gentlemen, I speak to you today from a national standpoint. We want nothing for Nova Scotia that we are not prepared to give to the rest of Canada. We want Nova Scotia to be treated, however, as a part of Canada. We, in Nova Scotia, contribute our share to every public work that has been built in Canada. We contribute our share, dollar for dollar, for your canals and your harbour works and the billions of dollars spent in Upper Canada. We have some 500 yards of canal in Nova Scotia. That is all, but we have paid dollar for dollar for works outside our Province. We are not complaining about that but we do ask, when we have manufactured goods in Nova Scotia, for an opportunity to sell them in Canada, we want to be part of Canada, and we are asking your consideration when our salesman come through Ontario, as they will with a campaign of selling coal, that you give them every attention and not deal with the question on a strictly local commercial basis, but deal with it rather on a national basis.

We pay a large amount for all the goods that we import from Ontario, all your goods that are so highly protected, and you have a great deal of manufactured goods in Ontario carrying very, very high protection. We pay our share of all that cheerfully and your customers in Nova Scotia are not complaining. We therefore feel that we are justified in asking you to give consideration to us when we offer some of our products for sale in Ontario.

The miners in Nova Scotia who rescued three of your citizens, two of them alive, from the depths of the Moose River Mine, have worked less than 50 per cent of the time for the last year, and last year was the best year they have had in five. We require two more million tons of coal and that two million tons must be sold in Ontario, if we sell it at all. We need two million tons of coal to give our men 70 per cent of the working days during the year. Without 70 per cent, nothing but destitution can follow those who work in the mines of Nova Scotia. Your two large railways are importing half of their requirements from across the border. Many of your own manufacturers here are importing their coal while our miners are going hungry. Our miners did not ask where your citizens came from, who they were, or why they were entombed, but they risked their lives to bring them to the surface. All they are asking is that when salesmen come to Ontario to sell coal, you will give them consideration and that every effort will be made by those who have control of the purchase of coal in Ontario, to see that Nova Scotia is given a fair share of your requirements. We do not ask for all, we do not ask a hundred per cent even, but we do ask for a portion of the eight million tons of coal you are consuming in Ontario. We ask for a reasonable share of that for Nova Scotia mines, and two million tons, divided between your two large railways, the C.N.R. and C.P.R., and one or two of your largest manufacturing concerns, should solve the problem of Nova Scotia mines.

A great deal of assistance has been given by the Federal Government in the shape of subventions and freight rates and there was a larger tonnage of coal shipped into Ontario last year than ever before in history. We are asking you simply to continue the good work and do what you can for the men who, if you will permit me once again to say so, risked their lives for your own citizens.

(Prolonged applause.)

The President: Mr. Dwyer, on behalf of the Empire Club and our guests, I wish to express briefly our appreciation of your coming here today and giving us a lesson, a practical lesson in the promoting of unity in Canada.

The Empire Club stands for a united Canada in a united Empire. It is most opportune that you should give such a practical suggestion to this Club which has such a motto.

I want also to thank you on behalf of the Club for the most graphic description you gave of the recent dramatic events when two Toronto citizens were rescued from that mine. Notwithstanding our day and night radio service, our many extras from the newspapers, we have had nothing to compare with the details you have given us.

I want also to say, Sir, that with your customary, shall I say your national modesty, you have refrained from giving very much of the great part we know you played in that rescue. (Applause.) I am sure the members of the Empire Club will agree with me, when I confirm with you the telegram of congratulations to which you so graciously replied when we sent a telegram on behalf of the Empire Club, congratulating you, personally, on your great service on behalf of our citizens. Thank you.

(Applause.)

LET'S PLAY CRICKET

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE R. C. MATTHEWS, P.C.

Thursday, 8th October, 1936

The first regular meeting of the Empire Club of Canada for the 1936-37 Season was held in the Concert Hall of the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Canada, on October 8th, 1936.

Following the Toast to the King, the President, Major Gordon B. Balfour, K.C., introduced the guest speaker, the Honourable R. C. Matthews, P.C.

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: Since our last meeting the Empire Club has lost one of its Past Presidents and a live member of this Club, in the person of the late Mr. Arthur Hewitt. Mr. Hewitt was an active member on the Executive of this Club for a great many years.

I wish to welcome now the ninety-nine new members who have joined the Empire Club in the past fortnight. (Applause.) I might say since arriving here—as this is an exclusive Club, I can't count the gentleman a member—I received the one hundredth application.

Today we do honour to the Canadian Cricket Team who so ably made the name of Canada famous in cricket in the old land during the past summer. They brought credit to themselves, honour to all Canada in the matches they played, and at our head table we have with us those of the team who could come to this meeting. (Applause.) Some of the team are in Vancouver. I will ask the members of the team to rise as I call their names.

The following members of the team rose as Major Balfour called their names: Captain W. E. N. Bell, L. C. Bell, Mr. P. F. Seagram, Ed. F. Loney, Ralph Ripley, J. G. Percival, Lloyd Percival. (Applause.)

Gentlemen: We do you honour at this, our meeting.

Our guest speaker today is The Honourable R. C. Matthews, who made this trip possible. (Applause.) Mr. Matthews, being a member of the Empire Club, needs no introduction from me to you. His career, in sport, in cricket, in golf and curling is probably over-shadowed, however, by his public career. He is a devotee of cricket and curling and golf, but in the realm of public life, Mr. Matthews has won distinction which brings honour to himself and credit to Canada. While a member of the House of Commons, as Mr. Matthews was, he was Chairman of that most important committee on Banking and Commerce for a number of years. Later, he was appointed Minister of National Revenue. He is now President of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and a member of the King's Privy Council for Canada. Mr. Matthews will speak today on the subject, "Let's Play Cricket." Mr. Matthews.

HONOURABLE R. C. MATTHEWS, P.C.: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I thank you very much indeed for your kind invitation to me to speak on behalf of the Canadian Cricket Team about our trip in England this year. I considered it a very great honour when I received on board ship a marconigram from this Club, giving me the opportunity of saying something about cricket in Canada and what transpired in England.

Before I say anything about our games in England, may I say that altogether too much credit has been given to me, personally. It is true, I was there as an interested onlooker, but the credit is due to the magnificent Canadian boys who accompanied me and who played cricket in England against some of the finest teams in the Old Land. (Applause.)

I want also to thank the Canadian Press and the press of Canada, generally, for their splendid descriptions of our games in England. Everywhere I have heard of the accounts you received, and I am grateful, indeed, to the press for the publicity given the efforts of the team while we were abroad.

Cricket is a game that is not generally played in Canada, but I shall give you one or two figures to indicate to what extent it is played in this province. In Ontario today there are about 105 cricket teams playing, of which 50 are in the City of Toronto, and of these 50 in Toronto, 30 are senior teams and 20 are Junior teams. By Junior teams, I mean boys from Public Schools to whom cricket material is supplied free.

At one time there was a great deal of cricket in Canada, particularly in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. The original settlers and their sons were cricketers, but when baseball and other sports that took less time to play, were introduced, there was a let-down in the interest in cricket and boys were not taught the game. But it is now improving and the increase will be very marked in this province in the next year or two, if we, as members of an Empire Club are interested, and other men do their part in promoting it.

Cricket has arrived at a stage in Canada where something should be done about it. We have got it back to a position where very fair cricket is played in some places. A man said to me, not long ago, at the Toronto Cricket Club, that he had seen the game between Toronto and Rosedale in September, and although he was a member of a side that toured England years ago, he considered the cricket played in Toronto to-day is very much better than that of some years ago. So we have reached the point where we must either go ahead or cricket may not be as good as it has been because you cannot keep young men playing a game well, unless they have higher steps to take, unless they can find and meet competition worthy of them, and unless they see something ahead in the game, other than playing around in a circle with the clubs of their own standing.

It was this idea that I had in mind when I thought of going to England, and furthermore, perhaps my greatest incentive was confidence in youth. I am one of those, who rightly or wrongly, is heterodox in regard to the general opinion about the youth of to-day. I believe in youth, and in Canadain young men, and I am convinced that our boys, given a fair chance to learn and to play games will do as well as young men in other countries.

A few days ago I was in one of the Eastern Provinces, some distance from here. As the train was about to leave that night, there was a great crowd assembled at the station, tooting horns, making noises with sirens, cheering, laughing, talking. At first I thought perhaps it was a joyous wedding party. Afterward, upon inquiry, I learned it was nothing of the kind. It was a crowd of 500 people that had come to the station to cheer and to send away in a special car a team of American boys who had been brought over to Canada to play baseball in a town where there are plenty of Canadian boys who should play as well as Americans. This demonstration was in honour of the imports, who had won the cup. Fifty to one hundred dollars per week had been paid to each player, and they went back to the United States, taking the money with them and had the satisfaction of knowing they had earned Canadian money while Canadian boys sat in the stand and watched them play.

Gentlemen, that is not the sort of thing I care very much about. I have no criticism of baseball. None whatever, nor of any game. I played first base on a team that in six years was not defeated. I am fond of baseball, as I am fond of all field sports, but I am confident that young Canadian lads can play baseball just as well as American lads, and it was my confidence that young Canadian boys could play cricket as well as English boys that influenced me to take this team to the Old Country to try it out.

Then my only difficulty was encountered. It was in February last year, that I reached my decision to go and the first man I told about it was my friend, Dr. H. C. Griffith, the Headmaster of Ridley, who has done so much for cricket. He asked me how I knew I was going, referring to my getting players for such an important adventure. My reply was I had two prerequisites. One of them is here to-day, the other was prevented by illness from coming. These two prerequisites were Loney and Carlton. If I could get these boys to go, I was determined to take a team to England. I think cricketers will agree that for once I was right. Loney and Carlton distinguished themselves, and are known all over the world to-day as excellent bowlers and good bats.

So we decided to go. Then I had to select the rest of the team. Now, if you want to become popular, select a team. That will make you popular, no matter whether you are taking them or not, or who is sending them. You select a team and you will find out what a popular thing it is to do.

I do not claim that I chose the best team, or that the best players in Canada went to England, but I had this guide, namely, that I did not propose to take any player whose limitations I felt I knew; in other words, the men I wanted were young men who would learn and improve and continue as leaders in cricket after their return. I wanted their enthusiasm, and I needed their help to develop the grand old English game in this country. Besides, I believed the younger men, if given a chance, would do at least as well as the older men. So my selection was a young team, and I have never regretted my choice, because not only on the ship going over were they noticed by everybody, but everywhere they went, they were admired and regarded as creditable to themselves and creditable to Canada.

From the time we assembled in Toronto on June the 12th, until we returned to this city on August the 29th, I am proud to say, there was not one word of dissension between my players or criticism from any member of the team. They were gentlemen on all occasions and earned the admiration of English cricketers, the press and the public.

We arrived in England on the 27th of June, and spent more than a week practising at Lord's, the Oval and Hampstead. Someone wrote something in a Canadian paper, asking why we did not get to work, that perhaps, making allowances for bad weather or what not, it was time we were playing. Well, I had my own way about that, and I did not have to consult a Board of Directors. I had watched cricket for some years and I made up my mind that any team that could do well over there, must have an opportunity to become acclimated and have also a spaced fixture list. While county teams, test teams and others can play six games a week, a Canadian Cricket Team, made up of boys who practise an hour on Tuesday, an hour on Thursday and three or four hours in a game on Saturday, cannot hope to stand on the field six days a week without definite injury to their playing ability. It is too hard on their feet. I spaced the fixture list so they would have sufficient practice before starting the match schedule. On arrival, we spent three days seeing a test match, England versus India. Then the team began to practise in the presence of the professionals at Lord's. On the first practice day, I was naturally anxious to learn the impressions of the professionals, and asked them what merit they thought this team might have. They were non-commital, but very polite, and I did not know what to think. They said, "Well, there may be one or two of them who can bat a little." I said, "What about bowling?" "Oh . . .," they said. I said, "Not much?" They said, "No, not much." Well, that was the first impression. By the time they were through practising, and getting ready to play matches, a professional stopped me one day. He was umpiring a match at Lord's and he spoke to me as I was passing. He said, "Mr. Matthews, you will win half your games in England." I thought he was just as wrong as were those who expressed their general opinion in the first case.

Well-known experts such as A. C. MacLaren and P. F. Warner watched them during practices, but withheld their opinion, at least as far as we were concerned. During this time, my players were getting accustomed to playing on turf, to the atmospheric pressure on the ball, to the swerving in English air, and it was not until they got that, and their length in bowling, that they went into a match. When they did, the result amply justified the days spent in preparation.

The first game showed what they had. They were keen to field, keen to bat, keen to bowl, and I am sure you will agree with me the results of the practices speak for themselves.

When we arrived in England, of course a mild, but very mild, interest was created and I will quote from an article in a London newspaper by a specialist as to what was thought of us. After speaking of Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa and the West Indies sending teams to England, this writer said, "The presence of their teams (that is from other parts of the Empire) adds a spice to the season's activity, but the infrequent visits of Canadian teams creates no more interest than a Saturday afternoon match on a suburban common." He was quite right, but later changed his mind.

Our schedule consisted of fifteen games — three with schools, Eton College at Eton, Harrow School at Harrow, Rugby School at Rugby, three with army services, the Royal Artillery at Woolwich, the Royal Air Force at Halton, the Royal Engineers at Chatham. These games were all on magnificent grounds. We played four games in London, the Hampstead Cricket Club at Hampstead, the M.C.C. at Lord's, the Grasshoppers at the Oval, and the Ibis Cricket Club at Sydenham. The Ibis team is the first team selected from the seven teams of the Prudential Insurance Company. We had one game with the Incogniti at Chatham, and four country house games, the Harrow Wanderers at C. R. Anson's country house at Crondall, Hants, the Free Foresters at Hubert Martineau's country house at Holyport, Sir Pierce Lacy's XI at Bury St. Edmunds, and the Earl of Bessborough's XI at Stansted Park, Rowlands Castle, Hants. At these country house games, strong team were invited to play against us.

First of all, the school games. We had bad luck at the schools. July was the wettest summer month experienced in England in many years. At Rugby, our opponents, the Rugby School, finished their innings cheaply, much too cheaply. They were worth more than that, but the wicket was wet, and it was not their fault. We batted, and had made nearly half their runs without the loss of a wicket when the rain came and floods descended, and beat upon the crease and there was no more cricket that day. It was a real disappointment. The day was cold, unpleasant and wet, but as a slight compensation we walked to the end of the cricket ground and we saw there the headmaster's wall, dividing the famous playing fields from the headmaster's garden. In the wall there is a stone, the legend of which is known all over the world. I shall read it to you:

"This stone commemorates the exploit of William Webb Ellis, who, with a fine disregard for the rules of football as played in his time, first took the ball in his arms and ran with it, thus originating the distinctive feature of the rugby game, A.D. 1823."

We remembered Dr. Arnold's work there, and how his influence reformed all the public schools of England.

Our next game was at Harrow, or rather it was to have been at Harrow. That was the only abandoned game. There was no play; not a ball was bowled. Then we went to Eton, where we were royally treated, and again the game was not completed. Captain Bell won the toss and put his side in and made 168 for three wickets. There was no more play—rain. The bowlers were Eton's regular bowlers and were probably among the best bowlers in the schools in England. Afterwards, the team went to Oxford, not to play but to see the Colleges. They visited the great halls of several Colleges, they saw on the walls portraits of men who had won distinction in the Old Land — in statesmanship, in diplomacy, in art, in literature, in science and in professions, men who stood for what England stands for all over the world. But as well, they saw the playing fields and remembered that on the playing fields many of England's greatest had played cricket as young boys. They had something of the training that cricket gives. While I do not attribute too much to cricket, I do believe that something of the steadiness, the fineness, the ability to "play the game," to act fairly in their varying capacities all over the world, to be an honour to their country and their Empre, has been implanted by England's grand old National game.

Then we began our series of games in the country. Our first country house experience was with the Harrow Wanderers at Crondall, Hants. The opposing team was not perhaps as strong as some of the others we played, but there were some really first class men on it. We made in our only innings there, 261 runs on a wet wicket. Tindall, the Captain of Middlesex, and now the Captain of Cambridge, played for the Harrow Wanderers and Pelham, who played for Harrow and Cambridge, and Anson, who played for Middlesex.

The next game was with the Free Foresters at Holyport, the home of a well known cricketer, Hubert Martineau. The Free Foresters are a famous cricket organization, well known to Canadians. The interesting game at Holyport we won by ten wickets. Wilcox, the Captain of Essex County, Causton of Sussex County, Haig of Middlesex and M.C.C., Childs-Clarke of Middlesex and Freddie Brown of Cambridge University, played against us in that two day game. Our win was not a very difficult one, and we began to see why we were getting along so well in these games.

May I pause for a moment here to say why we were doing so well. Outstanding was the fact that our bowlers were thoroughly good. They bowled a consistent length, and on the wickets on which we were playing, were unbeatable. They exercised a control that I never thought bowlers from this country ever had, but their days of practice at Lord's under the eyes of the professionals had done a lot of good and the sides we played against were not able to score heavily against us. The swerving of Seagram and Scott and the spinners delivered by Carlton and Loney with leg breaks and off breaks in nearly all the matches competely dominated the batsmen. Certainly this was the case on the soft wickets in July.

On our tour, eight times we dismissed strong sides for less than 100 runs. Our smallest innings at any time was 146, the day we were defeated at the Oval by the Grasshoppers. Three centuries were made by our players on the tour, W. G. Scott of Vancouver made 109 not out against the Royal Air Force, Clarke Bell made 106 not out against the Royal Engineers, and Captain W. E. N. Bell 105 against the Incogniti. One century was scored against us in fourteen games, when E. A. Craven of the Incogniti made 104.

Now we come to the day at Lord's. It is the ambition of every cricketer to play at Lord's. Every man who plays cricket considers it a privilege and an honour to play there in one match one day. So the Canadians went to Lord's, filled with enthusiasm and eager to do their best.

I shall dwell for a moment on that game. Winning the toss we decided to bat, on a wicket that was thoroughly soaked, after a day and a night of rain, and very difficult to play on; decidedly a bowler's wicket. The batter never knew what the ball would do when it met the ground. We had to play against bowlers like Fender, one of the greatest spin bowlers in England and others. Fender is a slow spin bowler, and the others fast, to which our batsmen were not accustomed. We made 171 runs. Someone said the M.C.C. could not equal our score. We did not know whether they could or not, but we found that with the bowling and the fielding the Canadians put up, we were able to dismiss the strong M.C.C. side after they had scored 95 runs. (Applause.) Thus for the first time Canada defeated an M.C.C. side at Lord's and won by 76 runs.

May I refer briefly to the players who opposed us, because a few Canadians seem to have the opinion that we were not playing against strong teams. I will name some of that day's players for M.C.C.: Major Wilkinson, who made M.C.C.'s highest score, played for the Army and M.C.C., Desmond Roberts for M.C.C. and Surrey, MacBryan for Somerset County and M.C.C., Longfield for Kent, Cambridge University and M.C.C., Fender for Surrey and England, Major Stanyforth for England and M.C.C. Major Stanyforth Captained the M.C.C. team and also Captained Lord Bessborough's team against us at Stanstead Park. The other players were of equal experience.

At this time, I received a letter from Lord Bessborough saying that he was following our games in the press, and that we were going on from triumph to triumph.

If I may, I will take your time for a moment to indicate what the greatest newspaper experts in writing up cricket matches say about our team. The *Morning Post,* the day after this match at Lord's, said, "There were some very, very happy faces at Lord's yesterday evening, and deservedly so, for the Canadians had fulfilled their heart's desire, and on the ground on which, above all others, they were keen to do well, and not only have they beaten the M.C.C. by 76 runs but they have given a display of outstanding cricket which will not be forgotten by those who were lucky enough to see it. They began by doing a useful job in scoring 171 runs, and then, when the M.C.C. batted, it did not take long to realize that the nice things one had heard about their bowling and fielding were abundantly justified. In the attack of Seagram, Scott, Carlton and Loney there were purpose and challenging thrust, and as for the work of those who supported them—well, the critic was not far wrong who said that he had not seen better since the 1931 Australians."

(Applause.)

"The left-handed Loney and the off-breaking Carlton took on where the other two had left off, and, helped by that brilliant fielding, they pegged the batsmen down to almost complete subjection. Longfield certainly hit two beautiful 4's through the covers, but those were the only indications that the mastery was not completely with the bowlers.

"It was a peculiar and somewhat ironical circumstance that those who, presumably, had come to learn should find themselves so fully in control of the situation that in an hour and a quarter before tea the M.C.C. should lose four wickets and be able to score no more than 41 runs."

The *Times* said:—"The Canadians are a fine sided team of young cricketers who play the game as though they enjoyed every moment of it. Their batting, which bears the mark of amateur rather than professional coaching, is free without being rash, they have at least four bowlers of considerably more than average merit, and their fielding, which was the best seen at Lord's for many a long day, roused a critical pavilion audience to a high pitch of enthusiasm. The ball was cleanly picked up, returned quickly and accurately to the wicket, the stumps being hit on six occasions by the return in an hour and a quarter's play before the tea interval."

After the game was over, our team walked into the pavilion. The members of the M.C.C. who had witnessed the game, gathered in the long room and loudly cheered them. These cheers re-echoed through the pavilion and were heard away out on the ground. Older members of the M.C.C. saw this young Canadian team, untutored and untaught, defeating experienced cricketers some of whose names I have read composing the M.C.C. team, on their own grounds and on a difficult wicket to which our team were not accustomed. (Applause.)

This ball was the one used in that game. (Mr. Matthews showed the ball to the audience.)

Following that, we played other games and got along very well. The result was this, that on our schedule of fifteen games one was completely abandoned, fourteen games were started, six were drawn, mostly owing to rain, seven were won by us and one game was lost. I wish to be modest, and to be careful about what I say, but of the six games drawn, with my little knowledge of cricket, I do not see how we could possibly have lost one of them. I do not believe we would have lost any of them, if time had permitted us to conclude those games. Cricket experts estimate that victory in each case would have been ours. So far as I am concerned, you must remember that the prediction is one of an enthusiast.

To show what weather, we were up against: In a two-day game against the Artillery, the first game we could not begin until 4.30 p.m. The ground was not dry enough and that was the sort of thing that robbed us, I think, of at least some victories. In two of the games that were drawn the last opponent was at bat. He might have been bowled with the next ball. On the other hand, he might have stayed and defeated us, but I scarcely think so. As I said, I want to be modest, but I really believe we would have won the drawn games.

Now I see that my time is up, although I have material I would have liked to give you, but I shall not attempt it other than to say that throughout our games we had a splendid time, and had very kind and generous hospitality extended to us. Lord Bessborough could not have been finer. He gave us three days of his time at his country house. He devoted all his time to the team, and Lady Bessborough was as beautiful and kind and gracious as ever. We had splendid receptions everywhere and one day, on the 14th of July, we all went to Buckingham Palace and were graciously received by His Majesty, the King, who shook hands with every boy, chatted a bit about cricket and spent twenty or thirty minutes with us.

(Applause.)

But before I close I should like to read from the paper which said earlier that the presence of a Canadian team created as much interest as a Saturday afternoon match on a suburban common. The paper's parting words were:—"An immense amount of good will be done for the game over there if the people of Canada are made to realize the high opinion of Canadian cricket held in this country." That was the opinion held by the newspaper at the time we were about to leave.

We had a great deal of newspaper publicity. We were given the finest receptions. We were treated most courteously and hospitably everywhere, and the English people, I think, had a good opinion of the team. I shall read only one more extract. This is from *The Cricketer* and it was written after we left. *"The Cricketer,"* as you know, is the organ of cricket and goes all over the world.

"Seldom have a little band of sportsmen won such popularity among all who met them as the Canadian Team brought by The Honourable R. C. Matthews. They are not likely to forget the reception they received from members in the Pavilion after they had defeated the M.C.C. at Lord's. These Canadians were jolly good fellows both off and on the field, and made friends everywhere.

"The two Bells and W. G. Scott batted well enough for most sides short of representative, the last named being a valuable all-rounder, whilst a number of counties would be glad to start bowling with E. Carlton and E. F. Loney.

"There are reasons to anticipate that we shall soon see them all here again. So it is "Au Revoir" and not "Good-Bye" to a cheery group of overseas brothers."

(Hearty Applause.)

President: In thanking you, Sir, for this narrative of the matches of the Canadian Cricket Team, I might say that I speak on behalf of the Empire Club, and also on behalf of all Canadians who believe in a United Empire. I think that such a trip as this, a good-will trip of a group of young Canadians visiting the Motherland, does a great deal to weld the British Empire and to make Canada an integral part of it.

If I may be permitted, I shall read a telegram just received from a member of the Empire Club living in Providence, R. I., who is President also of the British Empire Club of Rhode Island. I shall read the latter part only:

"Congratulations and good wishes to the members of the Canadian Cricket Team, through its sponsor, The Honourable R. C. Matthews, for the manner in which they have distinguished themselves recently in Great Britain." —SPENCER HOOVER.

I would like at the same time to thank and pay our respects to some of our cricketers, if I might, say of a former generation, more particularly to one who still, I understand, holds the total batting score record for Canada, a gentleman whom you may have heard of in his puttering about at the game of golf—Mr. George S. Lyon. (Applause.)

I thank the other cricketers who have come out to do honour to Mr. Matthews. I thank you, Sir, for this address which has given many of us a different idea of Canadians and their relationship to the great game of cricket. (Applause.)

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CANADA'S POSITION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY REVEREND FRANK S. MORLEY, B.A., B.D., PH.D. (Edin.)

Thursday, 15*th October,* 1936

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I again take the opportunity of welcoming to the membership of the Empire Club of Canada a number who have joined since our last meeting. The support of the members who get the new members to join the Club now and the support of those joining is gratifying and encouraging to us and I consider it tangible evidence of the approval of the policy adopted, that is to further the interests of Canada in a united British Empire.

Our guest-speaker today, Dr. Frank S. Morley, will address us on "Canada's Position in the British Empire." No subject, I think, could be more timely. For some reasons which may be difficult to explain, Canada's status today has been challenged as never before. Dr. Morley is a brilliant student of constitutional history and is well qualified to give us a lucid analysis of the situation of Canada in world affairs today and what may in the future be Canada's position, in the British Empire, in the League of Nations, and in all this world. Dr. Morley!

DR. FRANK S. MORLEY: Mr. President, Members of the Empire Club of Canada, and Guests: I wish to speak to you on the Philosophy of Canada's Position in the Empire and in the League of Nations. Nations are not supposed to have a philosophy, or at any rate, not a very savoury one. It has frequently been suggested that while individuals might be kind and generous, nations should have no gentler emotions. Professor MacDougall, in

"The Group Mind," has suggested that the personality of the Group is quite different from the personality of the individual, and we recall Reinhold Niebuhr's more recent book, "Moral Man in Immoral Society." It reminds us of the saying of the Scots Minister to his congregation that "The almighty is obliged to do mony things in his offeecial capacity which he would scor-rn to do as a private individual." We should qualify this generalization, distinguishing the ethics of the individual and the nation, considerably, for by and large the State is the individual writ large. People get the kind of government they deserve.

Now, in order to understand the philosophy of Canada's position in the Empire and the League, it is necessary to know something of Canada's development within the Empire. The history of that development has been the history of the expansive ideal of Responsible Government. I do not need to trace the evolution by which Responsible Government came from the ill-fated Canada Act of 1791, but it is good to recall Baldwin's letter to Lord Glenelg, written July 13th, 1836. In this letter he stated that there were two ways in which Canada could be governed: "By force or with the consent of the people of Upper Canada themselves." He held that "The Constitution of every colony ought, as nearly as possible, to correspond with that of the Mother Country." He wished to put the Executive on the same footing of a local Provincial Cabinet, holding, as he said, the same relative position with reference to responsibility to the King, in the Provincial Parliament, as that on which the King's Imperial Cabinet stands with respect to the King in the Parliament of the Empire. In other words, the Government of Upper Canada was to hold the same relation to the King as the Government of Great Britain held to the King.

Joseph Howe, in his famous letter to Lord Russell, reiterated these ideas. "I wish to live and die a British subject," he said, "but not a Briton only in the name.

Give me—give to my country the blessed privilege of her Constitution and her laws."

Lord Durham in his great Report similarly advocated this evolution. He said, "It needs no change in the principles of government, no intervention of a new constitutional theory, to supply the remedy which would completely remove the existing political disorders."

And so came Responsible Government, a Canadian achievement, which forms the corner stone of the Imperial System. Laurier, with his aptitude to put things plainly and bluntly, defined the principle of the Commonwealth thus: "The basis of the Union that now binds the British Empire remains," he said, "a proper and always permanent recognition of the principle that every community knows what is best for itself."

Now, normally, one would think that the achievement of this union of the Canadas and Responsible Government would bring perpetual happiness, but it was a Scotsman, and, therefore, presumably a wise man, who said he preferred a funeral to a wedding because "ye always ken the worst.".No sooner was Responsible Government attained than fresh troubles arose. Lord Durham recommended certain reservations of Imperial control. They were the following: "The constitution of the form of government, the regulation of foreign relations, and of trade with the Mother Country, the other British Colonies and foreign nations, and the disposal of the public lands, are the only points on which the Mother Country requires control."

The development of Responsible Government has seen this control gradually slipping away. In 1859 Galt asserted Canada's right to place a tariff on goods coming from the Mother Country. A great pessimism as to the future of the Empire, the connection of the Colonies to Great Britain, resulted. We had many a cry of "Cut the painter." The great Disraeli exclaimed, ,'These wretched colonies are a millstone around our necks."

It was in no little measure due to this fear of the painter being cut that Confederation came into being. As Dr. Kennedy says, "Confederation was born in an atmosphere of mid-Victorian gloom." But, certainly Confederation was more than this merely negative desire for self-preservation. MacDonald well expressed the growing Canadian nationalism when he said, "We are standing on the very threshold of nations and when admitted we shall occupy no unimportant position among the nations of the world."

Ever since Blake's burning phrase of his Aurora speech, where he saw in Canada "Four millions of Britons who are not free," down through MacDonald, Laurier, Borden, Meighen, and Bennett and King, there has been a constant application of a National Policy. As Dr. Wallace puts it, "The history of Canada since Confederation has been the history of the rivalry of the two great political parties for the favour of the growing national feeling of the Canadian people." Professor Brady, in his book, "Canada," makes a similar suggestion.

After 1870, with the great growth of the great nations, trade rivalries and increased armaments, there was a revival of the Imperial spirit. The Boer War astonished Britain with the hostility of Europe and also with the weakness of her own military position. The Colonial Conferences, on the other hand, had grown into the great Imperial Conferences and gave promise of an economic, military and political union, but all Chamberlain's efforts for Imperial consolidation broke on the rock of Laurier's nationalism. During the war there was a revival of the Imperial Federation ideal. Sir Robert Borden warned the Federationists that there would be an exactly opposite result in the growth of Dominion nationalism. He said that the Great War would not result in an Imperial Cabinet with close Imperial consolidation; rather there would be a marked development of Canadian nationalism. And he was right. His prophecy turned out to be most accurate. The Dominions demanded that they sign the Peace Treaties individually and Sir George Foster contended, with regard to the League, "We consider that we have equal rights to representation on the Council and otherwise with everyone of the 56 members of the League of Nations, and we do not propose to waive that right." Canada, in the League, then, took a full position in no way abridged, and her activities have shown the utmost independence.

Canada's power of treaty-making culminated in the Halibut Treaty, of 1923. For some time Canada had been negotiating her trade treaties, but on this occasion Mr. Lapointe signed the Treaty alone as the King's sole plenipotentiary.

In the "Chanak" incident of September, 1922, Lloyd George sent out his ill-fated wire as to the action of the Dominions and the possibility of a war with Turkey. Canada replied that her Parliament must decide what action was to be taken. Now, notice this, because the same thing arises with regard to the possibility of war at the present time. The Canadian Government said that her Parliament must decide what action was to be taken and that has been the consistent attitude of the Canadian Government, whatever government may have been in power, that the Canadian Government alone must decide. The Canadian Parliament must decide what action was to be taken in the event of war.

This, of course, brought up the historic argument which resulted in a distinction between active and passive belligerency. The distinction cannot be quite absolute. When I was at school I guess I was always in a state of passive belligerency with my teachers and only occasionally did the belligerency become active. The distinction cannot be absolute, but it does mean that the Canadian Parliament would decide just what part Canada would take in a war, although the fact that the King is at war means certainly that all his subjects are at war.

In 1922, the Lausanne Treaty was an occasion for further misunderstanding between the British and Canadian Governments and for once Mr. Thomas and Mr.

MacDonald and the *London Times* were at one. The Canadian Government, not having been invited to send a representative to the Lausanne Conference and not having participated in the proceedings of the Conference and not being, for this reason, a signatory to the Treaty on behalf of Canada, did not feel in a position to recommend to Parliament approval of the Peace Treaty with Turkey or the Convention thereto. "Was Canada still at war with Turkey then?" asked the *Times*. "We never stated," said the Canadian Prime Minister, "that the Lausanne Treaty would not bind the whole Empire. We have never questioned the fact that when the Treaty was signed it would bind us." But his contention was that before Canada could be committed to active obligations she must be consulted at every stage of treaty-making — issue of full powers, negotiations, signature, and ratification.

A similar confusion arose with regard to Locarno. It is significant here that Britain only guaranteed the inviolability of Germany's western frontiers. That was the point that concerned her, not the eastern frontiers. The policy that worked itself out was that Canada told Great Britain. "You attend to what concerns you; we will attend to that which concerns us, and, in times of difficulty, if we decide your cause is just we will stand together."

In the recognition of the Soviet Republic, Canada demanded that her government give separate recognition. In all this, the attitude of the Canadian government was perfectly consistent and intelligible to one who understood the philosophy by which Canada has acted ever since the time of Confederation.

However much many other British statesmen might misunderstand this philosophy, Lord Balfour at any rate grasped the principle of Dominion Nationalism at the Dominion Conference of 1926. He brought in this Report which should be memorized by every school boy: "No account, however accurate of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth.

The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its lifeblood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security, and progress are among its objects. And though every Dominion is now, and must remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled. The British Empire is held together far more effectually by the broad loyalties, by the common feeling and interests—in many cases of its history—and by devotion to great world ideals of peace and freedom. A common interest in loyalty, in freedom, in ideals—that is the bond of Empire. If that is not enough, nothing else is enough."

He must have been reading Burke's great historic words: "My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to those vulgar and mechanical politicians who think nothing exists but what is gross and material. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything, and all in all."

So we have achieved freedom of government. If there are any reservations such as that of amending our Constitution, they will shortly pass away and we are an independent nation in every sense of the word. But, Gentlemen, we are unfit for freedom unless we are prepared to accept responsibility. If the child has become an adult, then the adult must assume a responsible place in society. When we have broken the shackles of control, we must knit the strands of co-operation. Independence doesn't mean isolation. It is because of failure to attain this nice balance of freedom and responsibility that so many nations have reverted to tyranny.

The British Empire stands for freedom, freedom for the individual, and for the nation. A German statesman is quoted as saying, "We spit on freedom." How impossible this phrase would be to British people! To take away freedom of speech, of the press, and of government, and to introduce a system of espionage, to regiment a free people into military dummies, would be to stifle civilization and roll back history's pages a thousand years. If freedom were banished from the earth, it would still find a home in every truly British heart.

Yet this freedom, with the nation as with the individual, demands discipline, intelligence, and a sense of social responsibility. We live far too much under the shadow of the Monroe Doctrine and seek to avoid the evils of the world by isolation. Our present depression should rid us of that fallacy—salvation by isolation is impossible today. Carlyle said a good many years ago that an Indian beating his squaw on the banks of Lake Superior, affected world trade by raising the price of beaver. That unity is much more evident today when we can cross the ocean in a few hours; when, as Dr. Grenfell told us, the Ethiopian War had cut off the market for the fish of Labrador and had brought about consequent suffering among the fishermen of Labrador. We are linked culturally by radio, and by cable, and the economic health of one nation obviously depends on the health of every other nation. My criticism of Father Coughlin lies in that, that he seems to think the United States today can live like the medieval saint who sat on top of a pillar and refused to be dislodged. That is not our ideal of sainthood. To the very contrary, we remember the story of the Good Samaritan; a man lay wounded by robbers while two sanctimonious fellows passed by, carefully keeping their skirts clear of the blood, and our ideal of sainthood is in the man who came and helped him who had been robbed and wounded. Isolation is deplorable from every point of view, ruinous economically, politically, socially, and morally.

At this time the clouds are gathering and sinister forces are plotting. Down in the misty depths of human hatred there lurks the insanity of another war. Like turns to like; each nation seeks its own camp. The British civilization must stand or fall as a unity. Our destinies are joined. In the coming Armageddon we must fight shoulder to shoulder or die alone. If we seek to play a coward's part, we shall lose our lives trying to save them. The United States should be with us in this great effort to save for the world an idea of international democracy, in preserving the traditions of culture and freedom which may perish from the earth. For let them not think that if Great Britain perish they will escape; there have been too many dark shadows in recent years to justify any such optimism. "Woe to him that is alone when he falleth for there is none to help him."

The forces of separation have gone far enough. We must now put into effect the mechanism of co-operation. In the immediately future history of the world, which is going to be most critical in the history of our civilization, Canadians must not play any sluggard's or coward's part. We must play a full part and assume full responsibility. Let us decide as a free Commonwealth of Nations our responsibilities in the world and let us prepare to meet them. We want an association of nations which all nations will respect, which wicked nations will fear and good nations will love. That is our ideal in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It has always made me very proud to consider that I have a share in British ideals, British history, and culture. I remember going for my holidays to Windermere in England and climbing to a high place to look down on the brown and the green of the fields and the silver of the lake and the little gray stone fences winding across the hillsides and standing in the place where Wordsworth conceived his poem on "The Daffodils," and where De Quincey wrote his essay on "The Opium Eater." All these spots, historic spots, were mine, part of me. Or, in the Edinburgh Castle and in the Scottish War Memorial where the granite of the hill comes up through that building as if to commemorate as long as the hill endures, the soldiers who died in the war. This, too, is mine, it belongs to me, it is a part of my very bones and of my lifeblood. Some one has said, "The crimson threads of kinship bind us all." The whole Empire is a part of me.

At the time of the election of the National Government when the pound was slipping and when prominent economists thought it would go to four shillings, when Europe gloated over the collapse of the great financial giant, when everything seemed hopeless, I remember how a man with a Scottish burr in his voice rallied the shattered forces and restored the morale of the people, roused them to fighting pitch and led his government into a tremendous triumph; and how Snowden whose patriotism had often been doubted — I remember almost feeling kindred tears with him when he sat down saying, "I have balanced my budget." He had just quoted those historic lines,

"Shakespeare's voice and Nelson's hand,
Milton's faith and Wordsworth's trust,
In this our chosen and chainless land;
Come the world against her,
England yet shall stand."

We all thrilled with him. And I remember Baldwin, whom I consider one of the most heroic figures of that time, in that crisis. I remember how he prophesied that that government would come to a certain place. Surely, if they pursued certain policies they would come to this crisis and to that crisis they came. His prophecy was fulfilled and yet he was a big enough man to step down and let another man take the leading position as Prime Minister of that Government, in order that the country might be united. The finest traditions of British statesmanship were upheld in that unselfish act.

Of all these things I am proud. They are, as I said, a part of me. But I am most proud of being a citizen of that group of nations who are saving for the world today the ideal of international democracy wherein nations, themselves free, can freely associate to bring about the highest ideals of peace and justice. The Commonwealth of Nations is a microcosm of the League of Nations.

Dr. Frank Russell, in a recent book, "Theories of International Relationships" suggests that we should develop a dynamic international political system, capable not only of maintaining the status quo against a violent change, but of modifying or effecting adjustments as justice and goodwill may demand. Has not the British Empire developed that political system? Have the members not shown to us that system with a dynamic, a free self-government, and a free association and co-operation Have they not already revealed to the world an ideal and a method which we can put into effect in the League of Nations?

I am particularly proud that Canada has been the pioneer in this magnificent achievement. It is in no little measure due to Canada that the Empire has come to appreciate Burke's philosophy that nations may co-operate in a spirit of goodwill, retain their culture and religion, and act in perfect liberty. The dynamic of the future must be the faith that the greatest unifying force comes with the simple confidence that dwells among free born men. Not by military leagues is the world going to be saved. We do not want to create a condition in which there will be a fair fight. We want to create the attitude of mind where nations won't want to fight in any case.

An iron-clad imperium over the British Empire is forever gone, dislike it as we may. It has passed into the limbo of outgrown things, as all institutions do serve their turn and then pass away. They live a life of pragmatic sanction. All programs and platforms die; it is a habit they have. The inspiration alone endures. And the British Empire has given the inspiration for peace, justice, liberty and equality which can never die, but which will live as the life-blood of a loftier conception.

Masefield has some haunting lines in "Men of Bedford:"

Who died, uncouthly, most, in foreign lands,
For some ideal, but dimly understood,
Of an English city never built by hands,
Which love of England prospered and made good.

And what part has Canada played in the attainment of this truth? I turn back the pages of Canadian history and have no envy for the man whose eyes do not grow misty. I see Baldwin, worn with a long hard fight, standing before Elgin, asking if he, too, believes Russell's prediction of separation. I see Metcalfe, with cancer blinding him, fighting for the Empire he loved so well. Bagot, the well-loved of French Canada, lightly laying wagers that he would not live to see again his native land. We hear the stinging words of Howe, the lofty eloquence of Laurier. They are a gallant company. Their memory comes like some fine old cordial to set the blood racing and dancing in our veins. We, too, must face our problems with the same high courage, the same high faith. Whenever the clouds darken and the mists thicken we shall steal away to memories of their devotion and feel our hearts grow brave and strong again. We cannot do otherwise than play the man, not we, who come of such a breed. Thank you. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Dr. Morley, in thanking you for this address today I should like to say I am quite sure all within the reach of your voice have had a comprehensive outline of our history, something which is essential in order that we may consider present day conditions.

It is most appropriate that we have the honour of having Professor Wrong, for many years Professor of History in the University of Toronto, on your right, gracing our head-table. I seem to remember, in years past, Professor Wrong saying something to the effect that one couldn't understand anything without a knowledge of history. I can safely say that the understanding of all who have heard you today will be greatly increased as far as Canada's position in the British Empire and in the League of Nations is concerned, at least.

In thanking you for giving us this address, I don't think I can do better than quote again what you said in your speech, "If freedom were banished from the earth it would find a place in every British heart." Britons never shall be slaves! Thank you. (Applause.)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VIMY

AN ADDRESS BY THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON
F. G. SCOTT, C.M.G., D.S.O., D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

Thursday, 22nd October, 1936

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, the Empire Club of Canada today honours those pilgrims who took part in the Vimy Pilgrimage. We also pay homage to that marvellous monument, itself, erected At Vimy in honour of those Canadians who made the supreme sacrifice. It is fittting and proper that our guest-speaker should be one who, by his character and genial characteristics endeared himself in an affection and fraternal spirit which will live always in the life memory of all the veterans of the Great War. Gentlemen, our beloved Padre, Canon Scott. (Loud Applause.)

CANON SCOTT: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen, when a speaker goes to introduce me I settle down with a very comfortable feeling, hoping that he will entertain the audience as long as possible. Unfortunately, this introduction has been lamentably brief. We are told that Mark Twain was once going to make a speech somewhere and he had a very enthusiastic introducer who kept on talking and talking for so long a time that some one on the platform pulled his coat tails and made him sit down. Mark Twain then got up and said, "Mr. Chairman, I rise to move a vote of thanks to the chief speaker of the evening." I was in hopes that the Chairman today was going to be the chief speaker but he introduced me very briefly and I suppose, although you possibly gathered a wrong impression from his words as to my character, you know, certainly, my name.

It is a great pleasure to be here in Toronto to meet all my old friends, so many of them I knew in the bitter days of the war, and so many of them I have met on different visits to this great city which we, in Quebec, always call "Toronto, the Good."

(Voice from the Head Table: Ironically? (Laughter.)

But it is a great pleasure to be here and I just thought I would tell you some of the impressions that came to me at the Vimy unveiling ceremony. I feel that the unveiling of that monument and all that was connected with it was really something more than the simple display of a great memorial. It has a tremendous bearing on our whole national development. Today, I take you in thought, in order that we may realize what the monument at Vimy stands for, I take you in thought back, many of you, in your memory, to those bitter times at the end of 1916, when the Canadian Corps had returned north from the Somme, fighting which had ended in a very grievous disappointment because we had been told, that the great offensive which was to be launched down at the Somme on July 1st, 1916, would probably put an end to the impasse in which both armies had found themselves. You remember the bitter fighting at the Somme. You remember the terrible attack made by the Germans on the French at Verdun. The year 1916 had closed leaving us a very anxious feeling. Then we Canadians were told that we should open the year with a very early campaign by an attack on Vimy Ridge, a height of ground which commanded an important section of the mining district of France where both the French and the British had once suffered verv severe reverses.

Well, there was an inspiration in the idea that the Canadians were going to do something big and to take the initiative in opening the new year of war. There was something exhilarating about it which caught their imagination and preparations were begun for the attack. Those of you who were over there will remember the stores of ammunition brought up. It was piled in all directions by the roadside, covered up and camouflaged, ready for the great attack, and you will remember, too, that the way the Canadians prepared for the attack was by very careful discipline. The Canadian Corps was not a wild horde to be let loose in intoxicated frenzy, as battles of old were sometimes fought. The attack had to be thought out carefully and was planned by men who knew every little detail had to be attended to. I speak, of course, for the Division I know best, the 1st Division, but I am speaking for the others as well, when I say all our staff officers were busy, night and day. Far on into the night, I know Colonel Kearsley, our G.S.O., a very splendid man, used to be up studying conditions.

As a preparation a large model was made of Vimy Ridge which was kept at Headquarters and not only the heads of every unit, but the platoons of the various units were brought up there and shown the contour of the country over which they had to make the advance. Each individual was to know exactly what he might expect when the charge was made.

I lay stress on this because I think the most wonderful thing about the Canadian Corps in France was the fact that there was discipline behind it, discipline and thought and self-denial. There was no idea of parade and no striving for the limelight. Its successes were the result of careful discipline.

The attack on the Ridge, we were told was to be the opening one of the year. It was to be made on Easter Day, the 8th of April. I was not surprised when I heard later that the date had been changed to the 9th. One learned a good deal in the war. One thing was the use made of that peculiar psychological feeling which an individual experiences when he goes to have a tooth pulled and is turned away by the dentist saying he has a sick headache and asking the patient to come tomorrow. The man goes the next day with much less feeling of fear. I think it was some knowledge of that peculiarity of the human mind which generally made the army postpone our attacks. I was not surprised, therefore, when the attack on Vimy was changed from Easter Day to Easter Monday, April 9th.

We look back upon that attack and are amazed at the performance. I remember I went up in the early hours of the day to Bray Hill and waited until five-thirty, the hour when the attack was to open. I looked down upon the great plain stretching out before me in the dim light of early dawn. Occasionally, a 'very-light' would go up and hover for a moment in the air or a shell would fall behind the lines. I thought what a tremendous thing it was for the Canadians to have that great task laid upon them. We had a nine mile front and on it, I think 3,000 guns. In addition to our own artillery we had a great many guns that belonged to British units. It was a wonderful thing at that early hour to look across the plain and think of all that was involved. The attack was to be, we were told, the opening of a year which was to end the war and one was filled with enthusiasm mixed with anxiety.

Well, I need not dwell upon that but the attack came off and our old 1st Division made, as General Byng told us afterward, every objective on the scheduled dot of the clock. It was really a great triumph.

The 4th Division had a harder proposition before them as they had to take a hill in their advance, but at any rate it was a wonderful attack by all the four divisions and the spirit of the men was marvellous.

Now, our men were not trained warriors. They had been trained but they had no lust for blood. Many of them had no antipathy to the enemy whatsoever, but through the entanglements of the war, brought about—we don't know even yet by what means—those men simply felt that a duty had been laid upon them and they had to carry it out.

When the evening came the snow was falling and I walked along the front line where the men were trying to dig themselves in before darkness fell. One felt that the victory was sublime, not because of its importance but because it was a triumph of the sense of duty in the hearts of our men and of courage and self-sacrifice. It was an exhibition of discipline and that comradeship which linked the men together through the love of a great country which lay far away from the sound of guns, the homeland of Canada.

And so the victory was won. A British officer met me one day as I was riding along the road; asking me if I was a Canadian, he said, "You know, never since the world began has an attack been made with such spirit. Some of the men were smoking their cigarettes; some of the men who were reported sick got well immediately and joined in the attack." I reminded him that there were many British units, especially artillery, in it. He said, "That doesn't matter, it was the spirit that was there." That great spirit had prevailed and Vimy was won.

Unfortunately, that was not the beginning of the end of the war. Long, weary months still lay before us but that victory stood out as the great initiative action of the Canadian Corps which had now been consolidated by General Byng into a wonderful fighting force.

Well, the war was over and years passed away and then it was decided that a monument, a great monument should be erected on Vimy Ridge. I speak now with the greatest hesitancy because there are a lot of Colonels around me and people who know more about the war than I do. As a non-combatant, I really wasn't in the war, I was merely a spectator. I think the attack on Vimy Ridge was by no means the most difficult problem the Canadian Corps had to face. Probably the weary and disappointing fighting at the Somme; the terrible fighting through mud at Passchendaele; and the attack on Hill 70 all involved far greater suffering and anxiety than the taking of Vimy Ridge, but it stood out as a clear cut action of the Canadian Corps, consolidated now, as I have said, by Lord Byng and General Currie and the other Generals into a national unit capable of individual action.

For this reason it was decided after the war was over that a big Canadian monument should be erected to commemorate the capure of Vimy Ridge, a monument which would be a tribute not to blood-lust, but to the triumph of discipline and duty in the hearts of men who were trying to play their part and do their bit, regardless of their own feelings, regardless of their own sufferings, in order that Canada might live.

In order to carry out the idea worthily, a design was sought for the monument. The Government got one from a man whom Canada should honour to the very end. (Applause.) I don't know whether Mr. Allward is here today. We in Canada are proud of that monument and we should be proud of the mind of the man who designed it. It stands there as glorious and uplifting, probably the greatest war monument in the world today. Well, the memorial was put up. A great deal of expense was put into it. It cost, I think, almost two million dollars and many people wondered if the thing were worth while. There were many objects, they said, which might be helped that would be more useful than that monument but with government support the monument went on.

Then, one night when I was going to give a talk to the Canadian Legion in Ottawa, as I was being introduced by my friend, Captain Ben Allan, he said that the Legion was going to organize a pilgrimage to Vimy in 1936 for the unveiling of the monument. He went on to say that everyone would have to secure his position in the pilgrimage by subscribing ten dollars. I didn't happen to have ten dollars in my pocket but I did have a blank cheque. It doesn't always mean the same. I filled in the cheque trusting that I had ten dollars in the bank and passed it up to him. He at once said, "The pilgrimage has begun. Canon Scott is Pilgrim Number 1, and here is his cheque." I felt that such a pilgrimage was just what we needed for the unveiling of the monument. The old soldiers would go and bring their kindred with them. I felt that was just what we needed to reveal the good things the war had left us. We had heard of the sufferings, we had heard of the broken homes and had heard of the anxiety at home and so on. We knew all that. But we wanted to have something to show to outsiders, the good qualities, the glorious qualities of those men who had brought about the victory.

So, the organization of the Pilgrimage went on, and last July I was one of the members of the great host of five thousand. It is the last pilgrimage I am ever going to attend. It was so strenuous. You had to take the brown trains and the green trains and so on, and I, who never was very good at submitting to discipline found it rather embarrassing at times. Luckily, I had a grandson with me. His father had been in the war and was wounded. My grandson soon took over the command and he used to lead me in the right way.

We had a wonderful departure from Quebec. By that time the spirit of the Pilgrimage had taken hold of the heart of Canada. Many and many letters I received from old soldiers, imploring me to get them taken, imploring me to try and raise the money for them to go. One felt if really we could have done so, it would have been a great thing for every man who had fought there to go on the Pilgrimage but, of course, it was impossible and some of the very best men, the men who did most and who suffered most, had to be left behind. I shall never forget our departure from Quebec, the glorious evening, and the ships coming down one after another. We saw the lights of the city on the hill and a great sunset behind the citadel as we moved out on our way to the old country of France which had meant so much to us and which lives so long in our memories with tender, amusing, tragic and inspiring thoughts.

Luckily for us, Heaven was on the side of Canada. We had a delightful voyage. The weather was fine and people were all friendly. When I said I was going to the Pilgrimage some of my friends said, "Oh, you are going on that great spree. You will have to play crown and anchor and all sorts of other things which are associated with the lives of the soldiers in the war." There was nothing of that kind. There was something about the object of that journey which, I think, underlay all our merriment and all our delight in the voyage, something which sanctified it, and when we arrived at Le Havre and actually got on French soil, and when we heard the cheers of the French people, "Vive le Canada," we began to enter even more really and deeply into the spirit of the great Pilgrimage. Wherever we went the Canadians were received with the most enthusiastic applause and you know such a thing spoils a man. On my return to London, I met some of the soldiers there and I said, "I am so lonely. I have walked these streets and there isn't a soul who has called out 'Vive le Canada' or shouted applause," and they said the same thing. We got spoilt by the wonderful reception which France gave the Canadians.

Well, you know, when you go on a pilgrimage of that kind it means you have got to be up to the mark. I say this just to give an idea of what we did on the day of our arrival. We had breakfast on the ship at a quarter past five in the morning. We landed and travelled all day through the old places whose names stand out in our memory. In the late afternoon I went up to St. Julian and planted two trees in front of the church gate and got back to Arras very late at night, not knowing where I was going to sleep. Finally, I was billeted in a large boys' school called "Le Petit Seminaire."

The next day, Sunday, July 26th, was, of course, the big day. I had had an idea I might hold service but it was perfectly impossible. I said to my grandson, "I am going down to the old cathedral tomorrow at eight o'clock to hear the service of the national church of France." The last time I saw that cathedral it was not all in ruins but very much damaged. I remember walking through one of the aisles one day and to my astonishment I came to a shell hole made in the floor and I looked down and there I saw a number of artillery officers having a conference right under me in the crypt. This time, when I entered the cathedral we found the whole place was restored A vast crowd of people were there. The Bishop was having a special Requiem Service for the Canadians. We were both dressed up as pilgrims. I had all my medals on, and so the Beadle took us, to the astonishment of my grandson and myself, up to the front seat in the middle aisle. On the other side of the aisle were a lot of French Generals in uniform. There were two flag bearers in front of the chancel. My grandson and I were the only people in the space reserved for Canadians in the middle aisle and when the service was over the Bishop came down and addressed us and told us how glad he was that the Canadians had come. I think he thought I was representing the whole Canadian Corps and he said some nice things to us and then he held out his hand for us to do homage which we, of course, did.

By the by, there is a story told of Mr. Longfellow when he went to see Queen Victoria. She held out her hand to be kissed, as a Sovereign. Instead of doing so he gave it a very hearty shake in a true democratic manner and the old lady said, "My servants are very fond of your poetry, Mr. Longfellow."

However, we didn't make that mistake.

I was told later that some of the French officials said representatives of the Canadians had been at the service and it had been especially arranged for them.

We had a great scramble to get ready for the trip to the monument. I went in a car with General Ross. The monument, I suppose was about fifteen miles from Arras. Thousands of French people were walking there but our soldiers had gone in busses. They all wore khaki berets. We had hard work to get through the crowds. It was a lovely sunny day. Many of you remember what the Ridge used to look like, all torn and marked with muddy trenches, barbed wire and shell holes. Now, when we went down from Arras we found that everything was changed. On all sides were beautiful green fields and in their midst we saw the places we remembered of old. As we went along General Ross told me when we crossed the 1st Division front. That was the front I had been looking over on the morning of April 9th, 1917.

At last we saw in the distance on the Ridge those two great pylons standing like sentinels guarding the plain beyond. The monument as seen in photographs had not appealed to me. I didn't understand it but the whole impression was changed when I saw it with my eyes. It was a marvellous achievement of Mr. Allward to be able to interpret in stone the living spirit which ought to be commemorated on that great Ridge.

When we got to the monument we found the French Algerian cavalry looking very picturesque with their cloaks and sabres drawn. They had been on our left at Ypres in the first gas attack. One of them had joined the Highlanders rather than run away in that battle. They had rewarded his valour by arraying him in kilts. Now, these men were brought to give picturesqueness to the picture. The great monument was thronged with people. Only those with tickets were allowed to get to the platform. Below in the plain our soldiers were drawn up and on the hills around was the civilian population of the countryside. Standing on the edge of the monument I looked down and saw our lines of men possibly 5,000. A great many had joined us from England. I looked over the green fields where once we had seen nothing but desolation. There was that plain which so many of you gentlemen had done your best to destroy and damage Then I saw far over in the distance the city of Lens with its factory chimneys now smoking. New life was springing everywhere. I could hardly believe my eyes at the change which had come. I think a good many of us felt a little lonely when we did not find the old dugouts and the smashed buildings. But, after all, it is the right thing to remove the traces of war. France has recovered that wonderful spirit which she had after the war of 1870 and now all is prosperity.

We waited on the monument for the time when the King was to arrive. Great storm clouds passed over the sky. We wondered if it were going to rain. If Heaven hadn't been on the side of Canada and we had had a very heavy downpour, of course it would have been very unpleasant, because there was nowhere to go in case of a storm. But the clouds gathered and produced a most glorious effect, with the two gray pylons standing up against the darkness behind them. Just before the King came we heard the noise of aeroplanes and then in formation of threes, nine aeroplanes flew over us from the direction of Arras and we knew they heralded the approach of the King. Excitement grew more tense every minute until at last we heard a band playing, "God Save the King," in the distance. Then guns fired a royal salute from some battery near by. The sound of guns at that place brought back many queer feelings in the hearts of the old soldiers who knew their voices of old. The band played "God Save the King," and then the King appeared and took his stand on the place they had arranged for him beside the draped figure of Canada. The moment he arrived you can imagine the cheers that went up. Gentlemen, it was a thrilling moment. There above the crowds the slight figure of our great King, the man who is always anxious to do right and has a happy faculty of doing it. I just thought as he stood there, receiving the plaudits of the men he had been with in the war, what a wonderful link the monarchy is to the great Empire of which we are so proud to be a part ,and which some of us are so unwilling at times to do our duty to preserve. The King stood there and was welcomed by the men with rousing cheers. Then he went down the steps and passed through the ranks and he welcomed the men in his hearty way. He walked past one man with a red patch and he laughed and said. "The old red patch." That would please General Macdonell. Then he shook hands with the blind men and the war-mothers who had lost their sons and he came up the steps and made that wonderful speech. On the platform he was welcomed by the President of France whom he thanked for that gift of territory which France had made to Canada. The significance of the event was intensified by the fact that this was the first time that a King of England had ever acted as King of Canada. His Majesty was accompanied not by British Ministers but by Canadian Ministers and all of us on that soil around the monument were standing in Canada. Had a war suddenly broken out in Europe we should have been on neutral territory. Such mingled emotions came over one at this time. Read the King's speech, and you will note how very cleverly it was worded. I noticed particularly one phrase. When he was speaking about the way the men had fought, he said, "In the cause"—he didn't say, "The cause of liberty"—but "In the cause which Canada had made her own." It was a very clever way of getting over the difficulty of not saying what the cause was. After the King made his speech he unveiled the statue. The Last Post was sounded and two minutes of silence followed before the Reveille.

At this point of the ceremony something happened which simply gripped the throat and if Hollywood had arranged the scenic effect of it, it couldn't have been better. The storm clouds which formed the background of the two great pylons began to break up and between these pylons which represent two races which make up Canada there lies the figure of a crucified soldier. Mr. Allward has done this work very cleverly. There is no visible cross but the position and the attitude of this dead or dying man between the two pylons suggest crucifixion with extraordinary dramatic effect. Just as the Last Post was sounded, a ray of sunshine fell through the part-ed clouds on this crucified figure and as the Reveille sounded the clouds rolled away and a golden light fell over the plain. It was really a most marvellous ending. The people around me were spell-bound, but couldn't talk about it. We all had throats and soldiers' throats get choked up now and then.

Then the King laid a wreath on the monument and when he left the people crowded up and laid their wreaths. It was my privilege to lay a wreath for the Empire Club of Canada. (Applause.) It was a very nice wreath, too. One of the best things about it, I think, is that as far as I know, it has never been paid for but it was laid there all right.

After the depositing of the wreaths was over, General Ross asked me to go and have a few prayers in the place where the King had stood. The General had a boxful of the ashes of the wooden crosses which had stood on the Canadian graves and which had been burned. While he sprinkled the ashes on the base of the monument he wanted me to say some prayer from the Burial Service. So as I stood above the parapet I began with those wonderful words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life, saith the Lord." Many a time I have used that service over graves on Vimy Ridge, and it seemed so strange to think of the changes in the world since then. Now, those gallant fellows who laid down their lives there for Canada have been worthily commemorated by a grateful people.

There are just one or two things I want to say in conclusion, for the time is nearly up. When the idea of the Pilgrimage was first mooted there were a good many criticisms. Some people said, "This is just a great big Canadian advertising scheme." It wasn't that. Other people said it was fostering the idea of the glories of war. It wasn't that. There was no advertisement about it. There was no idea of admiration of war. It was simply a commemoration of those qualities of duty and self-sacrifice in human beings which lead not only to greatness in a nation but to greatness also in individual lives. That is what the Vimy monument stands for. That monument, with its crucified soldier, lying there, linking the two great pylons, with the statue of Faith pointing upwards high above, the mourning Canada will stand for all time as an uplifting symbol in our national life and in our national memory.

What a long way, Gentlemen, Canada has travelled since those days when thirty-one thousand untrained men came to Valcartier at the call of the Empire. They were the founders of a new and greater Canada. Valcartier is the cradle of our national life. They were going to fight for liberty and civilization. We can say that here, though the King couldn't say it in Europe.

When I saw the President of France and the King of England standing on that monument shaking hands, and heard their words of thanks and welcome, I said to myself, "What a marvellous thing. Here, Britain's daughter-nation, Canada, has brought together the potentates of Europe to be interested in our affairs and to applaud our victories." It was a wonderful achievement and that monument will stand, my friends, for discipline, for courage, for self-sacrifice, for love of God and love of man.

It is not in vain that we had that commemoration. I have no sympathy whatever with the words we so often hear from pseudo-pacifists, that the keeping of Armistice Day is promoting the spirit of war. It isn't. We keep Remembrance Day up, not for flag waving, not for the idea of upholding the glory of war, but out of gratitude which the country feels and will feel, please God, forever, to those men who laid down their lives that we might live.

It was a marvellous, a wonderful experience, and that monument, I trust most of you will some day see. At times when I wake up in the night I think of those two great pylons far away in France and the beautifully kept cemeteries along the country side. What a wonderful thing it is that Canada has been able to write on the great page of European history something that will be a pride to our descendants from generation to generation. Those cemeteries in France will always stand for high ideals, will always teach us the true value of life. I have given that message again and again to people who are timid, who are over-anxious, and to people who are letting their lives fail. I have told them the great lesson which those men have taught us, that the way of the Cross is the way to glory, and that self-denial, courage, the taking up of the Cross and following unto death those principles which are the basis of all true Christian life, that these are the courses which will help us in our daily work here, as they helped us in the war. There is need today in our ordinary life for just those qualities which that monument stands for. The unveiling of that monument was the commemoration not only of those who died there but the consecration of our national life to a higher purpose, and to a deeper realization that we can only be great through the power of God, if we strive after high things and leave our pettiness and our self-interest aside. The great problem, as Mr. Bourassa said the other day, the great problem in Canada is the development of national unity. We are divided in language, divided in many other ways. I feel, as true Canadians, we have just one object in life before us, that is to forget these differences. Let every man have the utmost liberty of race or religion, whatever it may be. Let us, above all these, stand together for the unity of Canadian citizenship and those two pylons, with the crucified soldier between them and linking them, stand as the symbol of just that spirit which will make Canada great. That monument with its sublime symbolism will always be an uplifting power in the life of Canada.

LAST POST

On Vimy Ridge and Passchendaele,
  Our silent armies sleep,
Through Summer's sun and Winter's gale
  And 'neath the starry deep;
No more for them the dawn of day,
  Nor sunset on the hill,
Their shouts and songs have died away,
  Their giant strength is still.

The march of time goes swiftly by
  And brings its care and toil,
But in eternal youth they lie
  Beneath a foreign soil;
With iron limbs and fire for breath
  They charged amidst the gloom,
And shared along those fields of death
  The comradeship of doom.

Yet not in vain they watch and wait,
  Strong champions of the right;
They are the sentries at our gate
  And guard us through the night.
From selfish aim and paltry ease,
  From slavery of the soul,
The men that save the land are these;
  They point us to the goal.

(Applause, prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: May I express the thanks of this meeting and of those listening on the air, in even briefer terms than those I used in the introduction of our guest-speaker. May I, like Mark Twain, rise to move a vote of thanks and myself second the motion, and declare the motion carried unanimously. (Applause.)

THE DISASTROUS DEPLETION OF THE GREAT LAKES

AN ADDRESS BY MR. J. R. MACNICOL, M.P.

Thursday, 29th October, 1936

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, our guest speaker today is a Member of Parliament for the Davenport riding of the City of Toronto. He tells me at one time he was a school teacher in Grey County and judging by the maps on the tables and the announcement, I think the subject of today's lesson is to be "Geography."

Moreover, Mr. MacNicol is one of the type of public men I think this country is in great need of. We need men of bulldog tenacity who will take hold of a problem, a big problem and stay with that problem with the grip of the bulldog until victory is won. Mr. MacNicol has made in times past the subject of the preservation of the Great Lakes issue his hobby, or, shall I say, his life-work.

There can be no exaggeration of the importance of these bodies of water to us in Canada and to a certain extent, not so great, to the people of the United States. Canada owes its existence as a part of the British Empire to these separating barriers, these inland seas, and Canada owes much more today in an economic sense.

I refer partly to the great power supply which we get from waters of the Great Lakes and which will be seriously threatened if the depletion of the Great Lakes is not checked. Transportation on the Great Lakes, and our minor waterways, was in pioneer days the only means of transportation in Canada. It had a great deal to do with opening up Canada. Notwithstanding the great advance made in other forms of travel by the railway, the motor car and the aeroplane, it may surprise many to know that with the exception of several years of the depression which is now happily nearing an end, transportation tonnage on the Great Lakes has had a steady increase and that this year, 1936, promises to have the largest tonnage in Toronto Harbour that we have ever had in history. Only very unfavourable weather conditions can possibly prevent the record being achieved this year.

Apart from what we might say is the monetary effect of the depleting of the Great Lakes, the aesthetic is to be considered. We have now on the shores of the Great Lakes vast stretches of barren territory. Once beautiful blue water—now, what shall I call them?—eye-sores to ourselves and detrimental to our health.

Mr. MacNicol has for the past five years made an intensive study of all relevant facts. He has travelled from New Orleans on the south to the Ogoki River on the north. He is well qualified to suggest solutions for this important problem. Mr. MacNicol!

MR. JOHN R. MACNICOL: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am not going to take up time in thanking the President for his very kindly and generous introduction. The subject that I have chosen to speak to you about will take about all the time I have at my disposal. I want to deal with it the best I can. But I do appreciate your very kindly remarks and I thank the Club or whoever is responsible for conferring upon me the title of 'Honourable.' That was certainly worth while coming to the Empire Club for, but I am very much afraid that after I leave this room I will have to cut off that title. I also want to thank whoever is responsible — I presume, in honour of my Irish mother—for changing the spelling of my perfectly good Scottish name into an equally good Irish name.

The monthly reports, in reference to the continually and progressively decreasing water levels of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Waterways, prove that the decreasing is continuing. I received, a few days ago, from Ottawa, the latest report issued by the Federal

Government Hydrographer, and in that he points out that as far as Lake Ontario is concerned that the present water level of our own lake is 2.05 feet below the average for the previous 76 years, and the average level—that is, for September last—for Lake Erie is 2.12 feet below the average for the previous 76 years and for the two great lakes, Huron and Michigan, which are on the same level, the drop is 2.55 feet below the average for September of the previous 76 years and that as far as our great national harbour at Montreal is concerned, the level this year, which is identical with the September average of 1935, is 3.37 feet below what the average for September had been in the previous 76 years, although September is not by any means the lowest month. I will refer throughout the course of my remarks to October, because by October the dry and wet seasons are past and the water levels have more or less steadied. November levels will be still lower and December still lower than they are today.

I have in mind that last year, on January 8th, the Montreal *Star* pointed out that the December average level in the Harbour of Montreal, our great national port, was 5.49 feet lower than the December average of the previous 75 years. And, doubtless, every one present has read in the press, from time to time, articles captioned "Great Lakes Harbour Traffic Reduced Owing to Low Water Level in the Harbours"—"St. Lawrence Cargoes Cut in Two Owing to Reduction of Levels in the St. Lawrence Canals and the St. Lawrence River," etc., etc.

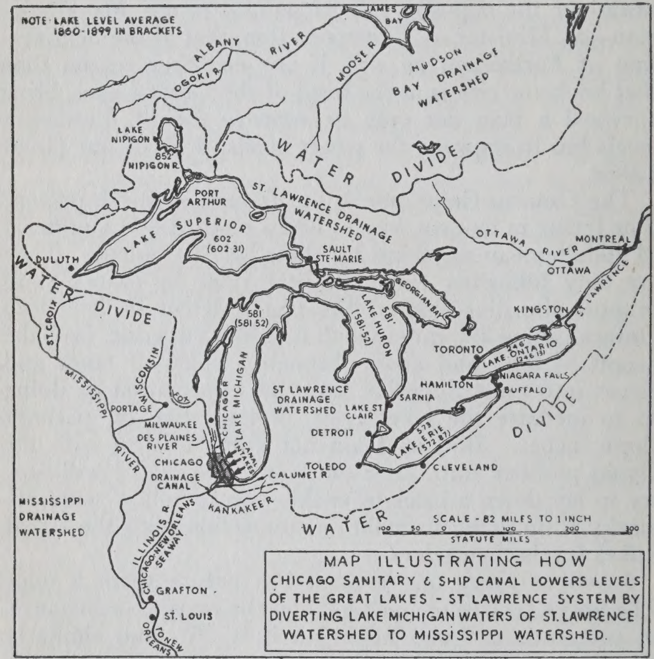
Now, Mr. President, those facts should convince Canadians of the menace that threatens our great national economy, our great highway from the head of the lakes to the sea by the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes.

The Dominion Government has been a little tardy, I am sorry to say, but at last it has commenced to take note of these depressingly decreasing water levels for, in each of the last two sessions, the Federal Government voted $40,000 to a board of engineers to ascertain for it what remedies could be advanced or used to increase the level in our great St. Lawrence River. You have read, on more than one occasion, that steamships from across the seas have had to stop at Three Rivers, and many of them have had to stop at Quebec City and forego the much more advantageous possibility of unloading or loading at Montreal. I hope that, now we have an engineer, at Ottawa—on the opposite side of politics to me, Mr. Chairman—as Minister of Transportation, that at the next session of Parliament he will, if for no other reason than that his home city is at the head of the Great Lakes, bring forward a plan not only to improve the St. Lawrence levels but to improve the water levels of all of our Great Lakes.

The Ontario Government, on its part, is at the present time trying in its own way to find a method—(Laughter.) (I didn't mean anything by that, Mr. President. They are only following what has been done by others.)—to propose the diversion of the Ogoki River in Northern Ontario, some 200 miles north of Lake Superior, over the height of land and down through a chain of lakes and rivers into Lake Superior, with the expectation by doing so to increase the lake levels, perhaps two or, perhaps three inches. But, as I am not going to deal with the Ogoki problem until later on in my remarks, I will now try to lay down a basis to enable you to follow what remarks I am going to make in connection with the Great Lakes levels themselves.

I believe every one present has before them a map. The upper figures on each lake on the map—for instance, in reference to Lake Michigan it is 581, and similarly in reference to other lakes,—indicate the normal water levels, as set by the government of the United States and Canada. The lower figures, in brackets, indicate the average October level on those lakes for the whole forty years prior to the year 1900.

Now, I believe my first step, after having pointed that out, is to deal with this subject for three different periods. Firstly, the year 1860; secondly, the year 1900; and, third-


NOTE LAKE LEVEL AVERAGE 1860-1899 IN BRACKETS
JAMES BAY
ALBANY RIVER
OGOKI R.
MOOSE R
HUDSON BAY DRAINAGE WATERSHED
LAKE NIPIGON
852
NIPIGON R.
WATER DIVIDE
PORT ARTHUR
ST. LAWRENCE DRAINAGE WATERSHED
LAKE SUPERIOR
602 (602 31)
DULUTH
SAULT STE MARIE
OTTAWA RIVER
MONTREAL
OTTAWA
WATER DIVIDE
ST. CROIX
GEORGIAN BAY
581' LAKE HURON (581·52)
581 (581 52)
KINGSTON
ST. LAWRENCE
TORONTO
246' LAKE ONTARIO (246 13)
MISSISSIPPI
WISCONSIN
FOX
LAKE MICHIGAN
CHICAGO R
NIAGARA FALLS
HAMILTON
BUFFALO
ST LAWRENCE DRAINAGE WATERSHED
SARNIA
PORTAGE
LAKE ST CLAIR
MILWAUKEE
DES PLAINES RIVER
CANAL STATES
DETROIT
573 LAKE ERIE (572 87)
DIVIDE
RIVER
CHICAGO
TOLEDO
CLEVELAND
DRAINAGE CANAL
CALUMET R
KANKAKEE R
MISSISSIPPI DRAINAGE WATERSHED
ILLINOIS R
CHICAGO-NEW ORLEANS SEAWAY
WATER
SCALE - 82 MILES TO 1 INCH
100 50 0 100 200 300
STATUTE MILES
GRAFTON
ST. LOUIS
TO NEW ORLEANS

MAP ILLUSTRATING HOW CHICAGO SANITARY & SHIP CANAL LOWERS LEVELS OF THE GREAT LAKES - ST LAWRENCE SYSTEM BY DIVERTING LAKE MICHIGAN WATERS OF ST. LAWRENCE WATERSHED TO MISSISSIPPI WATERSHED.

ly, the year 1935. Why? Because in the year 1860 the Governments of these two countries first commenced to keep accurate daily records pertaining to the water levels of our great lakes and connecting rivers and the year 1900, because in that year, Chicago, through her Sanitary and Ship Canal, commenced to divert upwards of 10,000 cubic feet per second from the St. Lawrence watershed via the Illinois River into the Mississippi River, that is, into the Mississippi watershed; and the year 1935, because it is the last full year of record.

I first consider something in reference to the 40-year period from 1860 to 1900 prior to the opening of the Chicago Canal, and what do we find during those years in reference to the water levels of our Great Lakes? We find that for the 40 year prior to 1900 the fluctuations up and down of the water levels of our Great Lakes were largely normal, sometimes above, sometimes a little below. For the two Great Lakes, Huron and Michigan, which are on the same level, the water level of those two lakes was above normal 28 times and 12 below. In Lake Erie, the water was 11 times above normal and 29 times below, and in our own Lake Ontario, the water was 19 times above and 21 times below, and in no case were the fluctuations excessive.

Following the opening of the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal in 1900, what happened? There are some who will tell you that the Chicago Drainage Canal, in their opinion, hasn't had the effect some eminent engineers say it has, and what I am convinced it has had, but listen to the following figures of what has happened, during the 35 years of the operation of the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal to the water levels of these three lower Great Lakes. The water level of Huron and Michigan, which are on the same level, in 1935, that is, October 1935—No, I am a little ahead of my story there—and had first better direct your attention to the map on which you will note that the average water levels prior to the year 1900 and during the term of the 40 year period prior to the opening of the Chicago Drainage Canal were 581.52 for Lake Huron and Lake Michigan; and for Lake Erie, 572.87; and for Lake Ontario, 246.13.

Then, for the 35-year period following the opening of the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal, the levels were very greatly reduced. In Lakes Huron and Michigan they were reduced to 578.10, which was the average October level in the year 1935, after 35 years of operation of the Chicago Drainage Canal. That is a colossal depletion of 3.42 feet over the 34,000 square mile area of those two lakes. Lake Erie went down to 570.11, in October 1935, or 2.76 feet below the pre-1900 average, and our own Lake Ontario was reduced to 243.29, or 2.84 feet below the pre-1900 October average.

Just a few minutes ago a gentleman present here informed me that along the shores of Lake Ontario where he has his summer cottage, he has had to dredge so that boats can get out in the lake from his boat house. He estimated that the water level was down three feet. When I told him it was down 2.84 feet in October 1935, he said he had made a pretty good guess.

Anyone going out along the lake shore west of Toronto today, will see at Sunnyside that the break-water is now out of water because of the tremendous depletion of water in the lower Great Lakes.

As I said a moment ago, the Harbour at Montreal was, last year, and, incidentally, it is the same this year—I am now speaking of September as far as Montreal goes—3.37 feet lower than the pre-1900 average.

I venture to say, Mr. Chairman, these facts should direct enquiry into the cause of the shrinkage in St. Lawrence-Great Lakes traffic.

Now, I believe my next step should be to deal with the Chicago diversion itself. I think I may say this: I am not good at telling stories, it is not one of my main aptitudes to tell a story, but one day in conversation with an engineer he said to me, "I don't think the Chicago Drainage Canal does our Great Lakes very much harm. I don't know that it affects them any." I said, "That sounds to me like a story I heard of figuring backwards. A teacher one day had a class of boys in front of him and he gave them a mathematical problem which was, if a cat fell into a 24-foot dry well and the owner of the cat put a ladder down in the well so the cat might get out, and the cat started to ascend and after ascending 12 feet, thereafter, every time he jumped two feet he fell back three, figure out how that cat can get out of the well. In a moment or two the whole class but little Johnnie Brown gave up and he figured down the one side of his slate, turned the slate over and figured on the other side, took the slate from the boy on the right and figured on both sides and was reaching for the slate of the boy on his left, when the teacher said, "Johnnie what do you figure about the cat? Can you get the cat out of the well?" "Please, teacher, give me two more slates and I will get it out at Shanghai, China."

And there is just as much chance of the Chicago Drainage Canal helping the Great Lakes water level as the cat had of getting out in China.

Now, in reference to Chicago, Chicago first commenced to divert water in great volume in the year 1900 and since that time until today it has diverted in various quantities. It has been as low as 5,000 cubic second feet, but, generally, the average has been close to 10,000 cubic second feet, and on occasions it has been over 17,000 cubic second feet of St. Lawrence water out of the Great Lakes, diverted into the watershed of the Mississippi, flowing out into the ocean, past the City of New Orleans. That diversion so seriously affected all the States bordering on the Great Lakes that they appealed to Washington, and the President ordered the Supreme Court to hear evidence and to dig into all the information in connection with the diversion, and in 1930 the Supreme Court issued its famous decree which was that Chicago should be permitted during the years 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1935 to take from the Great Lakes system for dilution purposes, dilution of its sewage, and it had a tremendous problem—go to Chicago and look over its problem which is the problem of taking care of 4,000,000 people, in addition to packing houses that are equivalent to another 1,000,000, Chicago has a very great problem—the decree permitted them to take for dilution puposes 6500 cubic feet per second and for 1936, 1937 and 1938, they were to reduce to 5,000 cubic second feet, and for 1939 and thereafter to 1500 cubic second feet. But, in addition to that great volume of water for dilution purposes, Chicago also takes, at the present, a little over 1700 cubic feet per second for domestic purposes or a total of 6700 c.f.s.

Now, there isn't any regulation as to the amount Chicago can divert for domestic purposes, so that the domestic takeage from the St. Lawrence watershed has been on the increase and I am convinced that as the takeage in accordance with the Supreme Court decree goes down the takeage for domestic purposes will go up. But while the Supreme Court, following the issuing of the decree, concluded that the matter was settled, it does not appear to be. The United States War Department, at the instance of the Chief Engineer of the War Department, sent a report to Congress, asking Congress to give him power to provide if and when he decided that it was necessary for Chicago to have more water, that Chicago should have it. So, as far as I can see, Chicago is quite safe, and will be able to obtain all the water it requires.

Now, during the last five years, Chicago has been diverting 6500 cubic second feet, plus 1700 cubic second feet taken for domestic purposes; and during the present year she is taking 5,000 cubic second feet plus 1700 and after 1939, she is permitted, apart from what she may increase domestic takeage to, to take under the decree, 1500 cubic second feet. Mr. Chairman, those are colossal volumes of water. Let me visualize just what 8200 cubic second feet, which Chicago has been taking during the last five years, is equivalent to. What does that mean? I have read that statisticians have written that the whole of the rainfall, the total rainfall on all the wheat growing areas of our great western provinces, Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan, amounts to 15,000,000,000 tons of water in the wheat growing season. Compare that with what Chicago has been taking—8200 cubic second feet exceeds 8,000,000,000 tons a year. Chicago, for a large portion of the time has been taking approximately ten billion tons of water out of the St. Lawrence watershed and dumping it into the Mississippi watershed, i.e., the equivalent of two-thirds of all the rainfall in our great wheat growing areas of the Western Provinces in a wheat growing season. Those are colossal figures, Mr. Chairman. The statements I make, I carefully compile and see that they are accurate and I believe I am making accurate statements and I hope the people of Canada will realize just what our great national transportation system is up against.

Now, I am going one step further. I want to be frank in reference to Chicago. I go over there occasionally and I like to talk to their engineers. Their engineers are splendid men and they are thoroughly conversant with their problem and what they have to do. Chicago has received a lot of benefit from the diversion. They have wiped out their typhoid scourge and from a sanitary point of view it has been most beneficial to them. In the second place, it has enabled them to obtain a lot of power from the diversion across country to the Illinois River. At the first locks or the first power plant at Lockport, Illinois, I believe they develop 36,000 horse power, and at all the seven locks between Chicago and the Mississippi, when finally completed—five are now completed—the potential power is 100,000. That can be generated largely from St. Lawrence water that flows via the Chicago Drainage Canal into the Illinois River. The Canal is also very beneficial for navigation purposes. The St. Lawrence Waterway proponents will have to consider its defence, I mean in the proper manner. by improving it. The contest between the Chicago-Mississippi-New Orleans route to the sea and the Great Lakes-Montreal route to the sea is interesting. The locks on the Chicago Canal, I believe, are the third or the fourth largest in the world. The first lock, at Lockport, 37 miles west of Chicago, is 600 feet long and 110 feet wide and will raise a ship 41 feet. Mr. Chairman, that is an immense capacity. Those locks are built for traffic and, in due course, they anticipate a lot of traffic will go via Chicago and New Orleans to the sea. They expect that within a short time the tonnage that will go by that route will reach a total of 5,000,000 tons a year. That, as the harbour commissioners will tell you, is large tonnage. Now, any mathematician can figure out what that means as far as diversion of water goes. For instance, that very first lock, west of Chicago, will take 2,750,000 cubic feet, to operate once, and the average lockage will not be over 3,000 tons, five barges and one pusher of 500 tons each. Figuring on that basis, you will find that 5,000,000 tons of shipping through that canal is going to take a lot of water, apart altogether from sewage requirements or any other requirements, so the St. Lawrence system is always destined, in my mind, to be effected very materially by the diversion of water at Chicago for sanitation, navigation, or for developing power.

Now, I want to say the Chicago diversion is not the only cause of the depletion of the Great Lakes. It is one of them, there are six. The first is diversion; the second deforestation; the third, precipitation; the fourth, regulation works; and the fifth is deepening lake out-let channels and the last is, inversions.

I will not deal with any other diversion, apart from Chicago, other than to state this: When I gave the figures pertaining to Lake Erie some time ago, pointing out that Lake Erie never attained normal level throughout the whole 35 years, I should point out that at Niagara Falls there is a condition which affects the level of that lake, namely, the diversion of 60,000 cubic second feet for purposes of power and canalage. But that water returns to the St. Lawrence system, in Lake Ontario, whereas, every drop diverted at Chicago is forever lost to the St. Lawrence system.

Now, as to forestation. I have made some investigations and I am happy to say that on the American side of the line they are planting, this year, perhaps 50,000,000 trees. We have on our side of the line large areas that are barren that were formerly covered with trees, and, reforestation is one means, Mr. Chairman, that Canada and its government can take toward replenishing the water supply of the Great Lakes, and thousands and thousands of men could be put to work at that, here, on this side of the line, as they are doing on the other side of the line. Men on this side of the line are standing on the street corners or idling at home, waiting for the dole to come in, whereas, on the other side of the line, some 600,000 are engaged in that and other forest work. Reforestation is one way by which we can revive our great barren areas and at the same time raise the Great Lakes levels, because engineers tell us, and they should know, that the Great Lakes levels have been decreased to the extent of 3 to 8 inches through cutting of the forests surrounding the Great Lakes on both sides of the line.

As to precipitation, is goes up or down in proportion to reforestation or deforestation and in proportion to the recovering of the lake shores with water to which the Chairman refered a short time ago. I have gone along Lake Michigan shores and Lake Erie shores and in many places the water is a hundred yards to a quarter of a mile out from where it formerly came to. When the lake shores are uncovered, precipitation decreases as a result. Engineers may not admit it, but, in my humble opinion, I believe the lowering of the Great Lake's levels through the Chicago Drainage Canal has had a large effect on rainfall, because records all show the rainfall decreasing during the last 35 years.

Next, I shall speak of the deepening of lake outlets. At Sarnia, at the St. Clair flats and in the Detroit River, the government have, as you know, widened and deepened the channels. This increases the flow of water and ship facilities, but the result has been that, that too has lowered Michigan-Huron levels because the water flowed off more quickly down to the ocean. I advocated last year, and I am going to advocate at this year's session, that our Government, on this side of the line, should get in touch with the Government on the other side of the line and should erect control works at Sarnia and control works at Niagara, and control works in the St. Lawrence River, to regulate the flow in the St. Clair, the Niagara and the St. Lawrence Rivers.

So far, I haven't referred to Lake Superior. The water level of Lake Superior remains standard, at approximately 602 feet, because there are fine and efficient control works that regulate the water and do not let it flow away from the lake too rapidly. That, too, has had an effect on lowering the level of the lower Great Lakes. Now, we have to do the same thing at Sarnia and the governments here have to wake up and try and save the water level of the two great lakes, Huron and Michigan, at least to the extent of raising the level to the extent that control works can and do in the Niagara River, and in the St. Lawrence River. I believe there are small control works at Sorel but they are not very effective. They should be of a size that will return and restore the water levels of this great transportation system, so much of which is in Canada and belongs to Canada. Control works would do that.

That brings me to the last item, and I am getting near the end of my time. *Inversions.* I want to deal with the proposed Ogoki inversion. Chicago hasn't any objection to the inversion of the Ogoki River. And while the Province of Ontario has no right to divert the Ogoki water, it is planning to do so. That is a Federal matter, not a provincial matter. Yet, Chicago will accept, if it comes her way. Anything worth while that is given free, they are always glad to take. I should also like to compliment our friends on the other side of the line on their keen business ability in getting all they can. In any divertion of the Ogoki River they will certainly get something, for engineers have pointed out that the equivalent water would never reach Niagara Falls but would flow out of the St. Lawrence system, through Lake Michigan and out at Chicago, into the Chicago Drainage Canal, and down to the Mississippi River.

In connection with the Ogoki River, I made an elaborate study. I went up to the river. It was a very arduous trip, for a man of my weight. I believe the distance was about two hundred miles north of Lake Superior. It took practically six days. I was accompanied by two Indians and a very capable newspaper man, Mr. Roy Snider. He is an exceptional writer and an experienced man to have on a trip like that. I remember when crossing Modjikit lake, the Indians and Mr. Snider thought I should be excited on account of a storm. I was too ignorant of the danger to be excited. The Indians and Roy were worrying about what I might do. I was sitting quite blissfully, enjoying the storm and was really quite sorry when we got across the lake. It was some trip! I thoroughly looked into the proposed diversion of the Ogoki River. The Chicago engineers had studied every possible detail and all available information about the diversion and their engineers estimated that their cost of the diversion of the Ogoki River would be approximately $155,000,000. They figured materials for over 300 miles of dykes and dams they believed necessary to conserve the waters of the Albany and the Ogoki Rivers and then discarded the scheme as too costly. They are not interested in it today, unless we give them a free gift, as I said a few minutes ago, and if we divert a lot of water into the Great Lakes, that they require, they are not going to object. Fancy the creation of a new lake of several thousand square miles area in Northern Ontario which would be the result of damming the Ogoki and Albany. But the original scheme cannot be carried out today because the Hydro has already started to develop power on the Albany River at the outlet of Lake St. Joseph, so the scheme that is considered now is much less than that first proposed and which Chicago estimated on. However, I am convinced of this, Mr. Chairman, engineers will differ, and, while Chicago engineers figured the approximate cost at $155,000,000, for the first proposal, other engineers estimate the present proposal would not exceed $5,000,000., and you have read in the press of estimates of a million and a half to five million dollars. Well, I have a keen recollection, and I am sure the taxpayers of Canada have a keen recollecton of when the construction of the National Transcontinental was proposed and that the estimated cost was less than $20,000,000, but the taxpayers will remember that the amount it did cost was much closer to $200,000,000. And you remember when the Chippewa Canal was proposed it was to cost a limited amount of money, and every one knows what the last staggering total of the cost of the Chippewa Canal was. I am not finding any fault, I think it was a good investment, no matter what it cost, and it has done a great deal.

Thus in conclusion, I just say this: Go slow with the diversion of the Ogoki River. Do as the Chicago engineers did, check and double check, and then stop. Canada can use every last drop of her water in this country. There is lots of power on the Ogoki River that could be developed, up there. If that large area is submerged, any minerals therein will be submerged, and the forests and Indian hunting lands to the extent of 3,000 to 5,000 square miles will be submerged. The loss to the Province of Ontario will be a staggering number of millions of dollars. I will say further, that after making a thorough investigation in the State of Wisconsin, looking into the proposed scheme of reservoirs and conservation of water in that State, I am convinced there is a lot of water on the American side of the line that Chicago can get, but let Canada look after its own water in its own country and if any part is to be developed, develop it within our own borders. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. MacNicol, may I thank you on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada for this very instructive and interesting address, and for the facts which you have put before many of us for the first time. May I also presume to thank you on behalf of all Canadians for the effort you have put forth in personally investigating this situation and fighting for something which quite obviously is something Canada should fight for. I might say, as far as the Empire Club of Canada is concerned, we have no politics and we are not concerned with which ever government puts the remedial legislation through as long as something is done. Thank you again for coming to us today. (Applause.)

THE PRESENT CHALLENGE TO BRITISH IMPERIALISM

AN ADDRESS BY H. L. STEWART, PH.D., M.A., (OXON.) F.R.S.C.

Thursday, 5th November, 1936

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, we welcome as our guests at the head table, and at our meeting generally, distinguished members of three great modern educational institutions, the university, the press and the radio. Our guest speaker today is very active in disseminating knowledge, education in all of these three institutions. He is a Professor of Philosophy at Dalhousie University. He is the Editor of the "Dalhousie Review," and he is world news commentator over CRCT every Sunday evening on the radio. Dr. Stewart's address today will be on the subject: "The Present Challenge to British Imperialism." Dr. Stewart.

DR. H. L. STEWART: Mr. Chairman, Members of the Empire Club of Canada: The subject which I have to discuss is so extensive and so complicated that I shall not take up time with either introduction or peroration. It is a few quite simple, but to my mind very urgent reflections, that I want to set before you as concisely as I can.

Let me, however, in a word or two, say how much I appreciate the honour and value the opportunity which your invitation has brought me.

As your Chairman has indicated, I have for a considerable time devoted such energy and leisure as I could spare from professional work to the study of international questions and conflicts. Among these the prospects of what is generally called British Imperialism are, at the moment, causing an anxiety, a misgiving, I think I might say an alarm that are distinctly new. I want to speak to you about the difference in public attitude on this matter that has developed within recent years. It is not, indeed, altogether new. By no means. But it is new in some very significant respects. The old familiar phrases, the old familiar thoughts about the British Empire seem strangely remote from the characteristic way in which our present generation thinks and expresses itself. This applies at least as much to the way in which British Imperialism is now advocated as to the way in which it is assailed. Epithets of ancient abuse have become almost as obsolete as the language of ancient compliment, because both alike have come to appear superficial. It is a change, I am sure, for good, although—like so many changes that are good—it is temporarily disagreeable. Eulogists and detractors have alike been startled into more fundamental thinking. Our Empire creed has been forced to a wholesome restatement by the experience of these last tremendous years which have cast such fierce light upon the roots of things.

Gentlemen, yours is surely the kind of audience to which, on a subject of this character, fraught with such consequence for the great values, a speaker would desire to address himself. The Empire Club of Canada, by its record, by its tradition, by its very name, assures me how vital is such an interest to you.

By the challenge to British Imperialism I mean this: The small Island whose explorers, settlers, soldiers and sailors have brought so great a part of the globe under British control or under predominantly British influence is being summoned as never before to justify, to abate or to share these world-wide pretensions. The press of many countries, including sections by no means unimportant of the British press, provides my evidence. It is impossible to mistake the new tone which has entered into diplomatic exchange between London on the one side and at least three great capitals—Berlin, Rome, Tokio—on the other. Sometimes affecting the disguise of formal compliment, at other times proceeding, quite brusquely, to say what is wanted, these diplomatists have struck a new note. For example, five years ago, when the world economic crisis began to be felt with its full force in Japan, and Japanese foreign trade fell by over 30 per cent in the course of the year, it was decided at Tokio that the only way out was by annexation of Manchuria. To British remonstrances the answer was given that by just the same logic of economic necessity or ambition the growth of the British Empire has to be defended, and when the League of Nations—at British prompting— applied to Japan the censures of a more austere morality, the Japanese replied by withdrawal from the League. From Italy we heard a like mocking retort when the Abyssinian adventure was condemned in the English press. Is it then possible, Mussolini asked an English journalist, that your countrymen have adopted a moral rule which would represent their own record for 300 years as one of international brigandage, and their national heroes—from Drake to Cecil Rhodes—as sordid buccaneers? Some weeks ago Hitler's voice sounded again in the chorus. Addressing the annual Nazi Convention at Nuremberg, he exclaimed: Think how Germany has to work to wrest a few square kilometers from the ocean and from the swamps, while others are swimming in a superfluity of land. Then he spoke of what he could do with Russian territory if he had it—with the raw material of the Ural Mountains, with the Siberian forests, with the wheatfields of the Ukraine.

That this restless discontent in three great Powers will not exhaust itself in recriminations of diplomacy is now clear. Japan has acted, Italy has acted, Great Britain in both cases protesting in vain. How much further the Italian and the Japanese aggressiveness will proceed, whether these Empire-seekers will be satisfied—as they put it—to do elsewhere what Great Britain has so often done, or whether they will attempt to wrest from Great Britain some part of her long established Dominions beyond the seas, few will undertake to predict. It is enough for our purpose to observe the manifest uneasiness in Egypt, in the Soudan, in Australia. One often hears that the Mediterranean, which Mussolini likes to call Italy's own sea, may soon be so dominated in its narrower parts by Italian aircraft and submarines as to be rendered no longer available for British navel passage *via* Suez to the East. The possibility of this has led the British Government to take up with the Government of South Africa the question of restoring the old Eastward route *via* the Cape of Good Hope. Statements, obviously inspired from official sources, are setting forth how much the inconvenience and the costliness of this longer route have been exaggerated, and how many compensating advantages really belong to it as compared with the passage by Suez. That argument seems more fitted to reconcile the British public to a choice already made than to determine the alternative which shall be chosen. Italian interference on the rebel side in the Spanish Civil War has, of course, deepened this alarm, for anyone can guess the price that would be exacted for such timely help. What further value would belong to Great Britain's hold upon Gibraltar, and how long could that hold be preserved, if Spain had "gone Fascist" and had conceded to Italy on the coast of Spanish Morocco enough for effective submarine base and air base?

A like, and indeed a complementary, peril to British Imperialism lies in the German demand for return of those colonies in Africa which the Fatherland had to give up by the terms of Peace in 1919. Hitler has made it plain that for this the reawakened spirit of the German people is ready and eager to fight. For the Cameroons, Togoland, German South West Africa, German East Africa, (renamed, since the war, Tanganyika)—for all this, not merely on grounds of sentiment and national prestige, but to assure a constant supply of the indispensable raw material for German manufacture. Now suppose that this is seriously meant. With what composure could Great Britain await the German reoccupation of

Tanganyika by which, with Italians already in control of Libya, the encirclement of Egypt and the Soudan would be made complete? What in that case would become of those communications by air which have of late been so perfected and are now so essential, not only as between Great Britain and India or Australia, but as among the different British-controlled areas in Africa itself? It is not the "All-Red Route" or the "Cape to Cairo Railway" alone, the dream of a generation ago, that is endangered. It is that new peril of the air which threatens British Imperial interests as they were never threatened in days gone by.

The menace, too, is not wholly from outside. German insistence upon return of the African colonies has powerful support, for example, in the English newspapers controlled by Lord Rothermere. That veteran journalist, Mr. J. L. Garvin, too constantly lends the weight of his influence to the plea that Great Britain's right to keep what she holds overseas is no stronger than the right of Italy and Germany to the overseas expansion they now demand. Look at the editorial columns of *The Daily Mail* or *The Observer* on any occasion when such international issue is raised. Lord Rothermere has published over his own name a definite argument that Togoland, the Cameroons and Tanganyika, held for the last fifteen years by Great Britain under mandate from the League, be now forthwith surrendered. From Tanganyika comes a desperate message that the British settlers there will never submit to any such transference, and that they are already organizing, after the fashion of Ulster twenty years ago, against what they think a great betrayal. The British Minister for the Dominions has delivered a sharp, categorical denial of alarmist rumors. "We are not," he says, "quitting anywhere—either in Tanganyika or anywhere else." But the alarm is insufficiently allayed by this, as all readers of such organs as *The National Review* and all who have observed the doings at the recent Conservative Convention in Margate must full realize.

Amid such menaces from without, answered by such cooperative agitation within, Great Britain may fairly ask what is the mood of those Dominions upon which hitherto she has been able always to count.

Here again we are confronted with a situation that is new. When Germany and Italy and Japan complain that Great Britain is an international monopolist, and protest that monopolies established by a world power need restraint under some measure corresponding to the Anti-Trust Laws, they stir in not a few Dominion quarters an acquiescent response. My own correspondence, from radio listeners in all parts of Canada, tells me how widespread is the argreement that the so-called "Hungry Powers" have a grievance. They came late, I am reminded, into the enterprise of colonization: nearly all that was worth having had already been picked up; a few Powers, notably Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Holland, had divided among themselves most of the areas attractive for settlement, for raw material or for commerce; when satiated with all the choicest spoils, says one picturesque correspondent, these Powers had the effrontery to intimate that the game is now over, and to set up what they called a ',Covenant of the League of Nations" for ensuring the territorial *status quo*.

Such misgivings about the justice of British predominance in the world is combined just now with sombre reflection on the break-down of the League of Nations, and with many a doubt as to whether the sacrifice of the Great War—thus fast losing what seemed to be its glorious fruit—was not a sadly mistaken heroism. Things, my correspondents tell me, are now worse than ever. The literature of enthusiasm to which that war period gave birth has become too depressing to recall. Every hope, every forecast, every high resolve for a new international order sounds in one's ears like a satire on the situation as it has developed. Very obvious is the consequence of this for what is called British Imperialism. That creed was always mocked by the occasional cynic, the sort of person who delights in those American magazines which have coined an unsavoury name for their still more unsavoury purpose when they speak of "debunking," and which have made British Empire effort a special example of capitalist hypocrisy throughout the world. But they have been reinforced by others whose quality of mind and heart is more creditable. Those who delight to disbelieve in the uprightness of any human purpose are stimulated by the discovery of others, not few, who have been as they think disillusioned by trial. They falter where they firmly trod. And the inference is the same, however reached. British Imperial cooperation is being disparaged, discouraged, resisted in too many parts of the British Dominions on the ground that its purposes have been shown selfish or futile, and that wisdom after all lies in the American policy of isolation. It was set forth perhaps with most pungent force when Mr. Bernard Shaw avowed his own disposition to an interviewer in Florida. "Europe," he said, "is in a hell of a mess, but I don't give a damn."

Now, is there any reply to these considerations, which I have endeavoured to state not in some artificially weakened dilution, but in their strongest and most persuasive form?

Let me present this case under a similitude, inadequate and faulty like all similitudes, but useful—when received under such limitations and warnings—to make an argument clear. What Communists demand in the world of domestic revolution, the so-called "Hungry Powers" demand in international change. The challenge is similar in its superficial plausibility. It is similar in the passion, often unreasoning, which it excites in two sorts of zealots—the sort it inspires and the sort it enrages. It is similar still more strikingly in this, that intermediate between the enraged and the inspired there is a great multitude with an instinctive feeling that the demand is wrong, but wholly at a loss to say how or why. And finally, it is similar perhaps most of all in respect of the fundamental ruin, masked, by imposing but transient attractions, which it would inflict if successful, particularly in the end on those whom it promises to benefit. Let me develop these points in turn.

A Communist dwells upon the flagrant inequalities of the heritage to which men are born. He speaks of social handicap, of the desperate struggle for such scanty recompense that is the fate of the many, over against the ease with which the material goods of life are garnered by a few. He puts a question, much more readily ignored or suppressed than answered, about the justice of this. He summons us to an investigation of how private property arose; to an enquiry into the source of great fortunes; and he invokes the authority of works of historical research which lend much colour to his indictment. He parades before us the record of long and successful fraud achieved within the law, and challenges us to show how the forcible transference of advantage which he desires would be less creditable than the forcible establishment of which he complains. Nothing else in the strange paradox of Nazi or Fascist eloquence is quite so odd as the Communist spirit which so often appears in these professed champions against Communism. It must surely have been some reminiscence of the rhetoric of his house-painting days which prompted Hitler's outburst on Germany slaving to reclaim areas of swamp land while other Powers, favoured by the accident of birth, are swimming in plenty!

In like manner the Communist dwells upon the now clearly demonstrated need for rectifying these inequalities by force. He ridicules the pretence of those more favoured by fortune that the game of acquisition must be considered at an end, or that its rules must be more sternly drawn at the moment when the great prizes are securely in their own hands. He calls his enterprise "class-war," after the analogy of international conflict, and in the very spirit of Mussolini or Hitler he points out what may well be quite true, that there is no record of the party in unfair possession giving up its privileges except under force. I think the parallel will not fail when we pass from what I have called the language of menace without to the language of misgiving within. A very great proportion of the comfortable classes in society must be counted with those born to the prestige of high national citizenship as doubtful about the justice of their privileges and with a sense of guilt about the enjoyment of them.

But now look, for a moment, at another side of the picture. If the case against British Imperialism is like the case against private property in respect of plausible strength, the resemblance is no less marked, and I think it is considerably more important, in respect of fundamental weakness.

What is the matter with Communism as a social scheme? To most of us the deterrent is found less by analysis of intrinsic meaning than by forecast of probable consequences. We reflect upon what would be fairly sure to happen if the State attempted to over-ride by compulsory equalization in goods the vast inequalities of talent, of diligence, of the temper essential to success which Nature has ordained and law cannot abolish. We think of the fecundity in artifice with which those of better brain, no matter how they were handicapped by law, would still outwit those of poorer brain, showing an intensified bitterness born of the class struggle in whose ruthlessness they had been bidden to believe. We remember how Communism rests upon that most degrading of all assumptions about human nature, the assumption of sheer selfishness as basic and of all the apparent altruisms as but selfishness in disguise. We combine with a disgusted refusal to entertain this slander upon our race a very considerable fear of what might happen in the attempt to act upon it: for we have commonly observed that cynical disparagement of human pretence to virtue is the prelude to some enterprise of personal corruption. Finally, when we hear that things are to be made perfect by wider and wider extension of State control, we feel like putting our fingers in our ears. "Leaving things to the government — alas," said that keen Socialist, Mr. H. G. Wells, in one of his more candid moments, "that means leaving it to the politicians." The anti-Communist objects to that proposal, disbelieving in politicians for the same reason Coleridge gave for disbelieving in ghosts. "I have seen," he said, "too many."

I scarcely need to dwell upon the closeness of this analogy for the case of international redistribution. Picture if you can a Conference, at Geneva no doubt, where the assignment of land to nations on more equitable basis than that which natural evolution has yielded would be taken up by delegates from every racial group. The picture that comes before us is that of each representative facing a huge terrestrail globe, with economic and geographical statistics in some work for handy reference by his side, and rival schemes emerging in such senseless chaos as would make the records of the Tower of Babel seem luminous and intelligent. Mazzini once said that nations are citizens of humanity even as individuals are citizens of a nation. Cannot you foresee how all that has developed of class war among social groups would be shown on a hugely intensified scale, and how the difficulty put with such picturesqueness about the Communist reform of property as that of "unscrambling eggs" would be many times worse for the creation of an international scheme flawlessly just?

The analogy from Communism is one that I should like to press further still. When we have shown, as we think adequately, that the remedies it prescribes would prove far worse than any social grievance it would cure, we are still a long distance from being finished with the problem it has raised. If not this solution, then what other solution? For it is idle to pretend that the inequalities of life are yet anywhere near to adequate adjustment. In like manner the case for what are called the Unsatisfied or Hungry Powers leaves us with a large residum still to explain or a large demand of reason still to meet. I suggest that it will have to be dealt with as the corresponding plea for underprivileged classes has been progressively dealt with in social legislation. We are as far as ever, in Great Britain, in the United States, in France, in Canada from meeting the appeal of the less fortunately born by a wholesale pooling of property and a new assignment on equal terms. But we are likewise indeed far removed from the temper of three or four, even of one or two generations ago, in inflexible insistence that the inequality of classes shall preserve all its old ruthless consequence for individuals. It has been our effort, and in no small degree the effort has been accomplished, to provide opportunities not visionary, but altogether practical, by which all men—however handicapped by the circumstances of birth—may achieve a success proportionate to their talents.

Must not the like be undertaken internationally? To make it altogether concrete — I suggest that the coming League Conference on greater accessibility of raw materials, which Great Britain took the lead in urging at last session in Geneva, holds the brightest promise for the future. Everyone knows, though hardly anyone will yet say it, that the key to the situation lies in reform of tariffs. Germany, Italy, Japan can get all the raw material and all the foodstuffs they can use, in this world where production of primary commodities has of late been excessive, if they have money to purchase. But they cannot purchase unless they can sell, and they cannot sell when the tariff wall remains unscalable. "Economic Demobilization"—that is Premier Blum's new term: and he has done much beyond coining a new term: he has set the example of a new policy. Last Tuesday in the United States the overwhelming, the unprecedented endorsement of the other great nation which matters most for this world reform was given to the leader least bound by the prejudices which have impeded it and most aflame with the enthusiasms which inspire it. The German Finance Minister spoke the other day in language whose implication seemed to be that here indeed lies the hope of settlement. Great Britain, by all her past, less wedded by far than other powers to the Economic Nationalism which might stand in the way, is suited for this leadership. You remember, perhaps, how half a century back Joseph Chamberlain warned the English possessing classes that they had better make up their minds in time to pay what he called "ransom" by timely concession of part of their privileges for lease to retain the remainder. It was an unpleasant word, with a piratical ring. But it had the Chamberlain directness and clarity. Perhaps another "ransom," this time an international one, may soon be forthcoming. If it is, we may remember with satisfaction that what was thought fifty years ago to be piratical pillage in social change we now regard as simple justice. I suspect that a like revision of the fears and resentments, the discontents and protests of today will mark the spirit of British and Canadian thinkers a century hence.

All this challenge, gentlemen, as I have called it, has a peculiar significance for us because fifteen years ago, when proposal of a League committee to consider the question of easier access to raw materials was pressed at Geneva, the Canadian delegate was among those who strongly opposed it. The proposal came from Italy, and it has even been suggested that if Italy had met with more generous response on that occasion she might not have had recourse to the sinister alternative of obtaining her raw material otherwise. That, I must say, seems to me a fantastic conjecture. Italian militarist policy is just now shaped by one whose desire is far less for justification than for pretext, one for whom if a particular pretext is cleared away another will soon be found, one who has made his own the rule of his favourite philosopher, Friedrich Nieztsche: "It has been said by them of old time that a good cause will justify even war: but I say unto you that a good war will justify any cause."

It should, however, be remembered that the more unreasonable the demand of the enemy we have to meet, the more important it is to be reasonable ourselves. Outrageous enemies and outrageous demands are the more effectively resisted when we have deprived them of their element of rational complaint. And when this has been done, as Great Britain is today taking the initiative towards it, our faith in British imperial policy—so wide in scope, so generous in concession, so penetrating in its vision of what lies ahead—should be greater than ever. It is in this respect that the *challenge* which I took as title for my address becomes the stimulus to a wiser and a nobler pride.

Gentlemen, I cannot close without reminding you of the special force with which this should come home today to Canadians so close to the anniversary of Armstice. It is the last meeting, I understand, of your Club until we shall have kept again that day so laden with memories of achievement and of sacrifice. It is the day when, most of all days of the year, we think of what was made possible by sustained cooperative effort among the self-governing countries bound together by a great partnership for what we call the British way of life. We do well to make sure from time to time that we understand its basis and from time to time to revise its implications, but Heaven forbid that for a moment we should think of weakening it. Never have we had quite so much reason to be proud of what together we have accomplished and guarded; never did that strange blend of order and freedom of individual rights and collective efficiency, mean quite so much as in these days when Nazi and Bolshevist and Fascist competitors have made us so conscious of what we have so long enjoyed. We know how much of the volume of reproach to which it has been subjected comes from sources we may discount. The jealousy of unsuccessful rivals, the exaggerated alarms of the nervous played upon by a sensation-loving press, a certain morbidness of self-criticism at a time of universal disappointment! Nor do we pretend that, unlike our British predecessors whose strength came so much from the flexibility of mind with which they learned and improved so much, our British generation is without need or power to improve and to learn. My plea to you today is for no obstinate attachment to ancient imperial ways; quite the reverse. But it is with all the emphasis and earnestness I can command for this, that we go forward together, that we heed not the voice sounding in too many quarters for an independent or a nationalized Canada. Together we have achieved in the great past. Together we have to meet a future laden with perils. In the only sense in which nationality or independence is valuable, we have them both; those who still assail our ears with complaint about that are but re-vexing the ghost of long dead controversies, or feverishly battering at an open door. Canada is faced with no question about asserting her freedom of choice. But she has always the very grave and responsible question of what she is going to choose: By all her past experience, by the vision of what has yet to be done and may yet be done for the great human values through keeping the old British partnership, not least by the spectacle of world alternatives working so disastrously on every hand, her decision should surely be clear. We cannot afford to choose wrongly, or to choose too late. And the omens seem to me to indicate that a decisive choice, not without difficulty, will have to be taken before long. (Applause.)

President: Dr. Stewart, I am sure it is quite unnecessary for me to add by way of thanks any words to the demonstration given by this large assembly of our membership. Your subject has, indeed, been one of vital interest. Your address has raised considerations of great importance to all Canadians, more particularly perhaps to the members of the Empire Club, which stands for Canada and the United Empire. Dr. Stewart, I thank you for coming here today and giving us this address.

(Applause.)

A PLEA FOR THE CANADIAN NORTHLAND

AN ADDRESS BY GREY OWL

Thursday, 12th November, 1936

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, today we welcome to the Empire Club of Canada all bookmen, but I might say more particularly the officers of the Association of Canadian Bookmen who are holding their Book Fair in Toronto this week. We are indebted to the Association of Canadian Bookmen for the presence of our guest-speaker. We have the honour of having some of the officers at our head table. We also have the honour of having the Chairman of the Book Fair Committee, Mr. Hugh Eayrs, a Past President of the Empire Club, consent to introduce Grey Owl to the meeting. Mr. Eayrs.

MR. HUGH EAYRS: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: This is like old times when I used to stand where the Major was standing a moment ago and worry you by introducing the distinguished guests who came to this Club. It has been the pleasure and the privilege of the Empire Club for many years to entertain distinguished men and, occasionally, a distinguished woman, from all over the world, notably from the British Isles and from the Republic to the South, but today it is your happiness and mine to entertain one of ourselves, a great Canadian, Grey Owl. (Applause.) I am not at all sure, without the slightest reflection on the distinguished gentlemen who occupy those positions, that we might not well make ambassadors, if we can find other Grey Owls, out of such men as the gentleman to my left. For four months last year he was in England and he spoke on behalf of Canada to over a quarter of a million people. "Not since Mark Twain," said a great London Daily, "has any literary figure from the other side of the Atlantic so captured the imagination of the British Isles." A very great tribute, indeed.

Grey Owl is a man of the woods. He is a man of plain and simple things, as he will tell you when he speaks to you. He is a man who, as I said last night, finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything. He is, in the best sense of the word, of the earth, earthy. He is a great Canadian, a great naturalist, a great writer, and though I am chary of superlatives, a great friend. Grey Owl.

(Applause.)

GREY OWL: (adjusting the microphone) I always have arguments with microphones.

Now, you gentlemen have all got the advantage of me. You have had a good meal and I didn't so if I make a few mistakes you will have to bear with me. I have been partaking a little too much of the hospitality of the City of Toronto. My diet has been pretty simple up there but since I have been down here I have tried everything once. As you will allow it is quite a bill of fare, so the doctor has forbidden me to eat today. I am on orange juice. It is not the first time I have been hungry. You know, in the woods, our supplies are generally pretty slim, sometimes they run out. Sometimes in our ambition to get far we get far beyond the reach of supplies. We don't stop to turn back until we get hungry and sometimes we are two days without food. I have been as high as four and a half days without food. This little expedition today doesn't mean a thing.

I might tell the story, too. It might interest you. Another young Indian and myself, a good many years ago—most adventures arise out of the ignorance or the bad judgment of the adventurer, and in this case it was the same thing, we were both young with very little experience—started out and travelled all day. We came to a lake and put our stuff down; it had become dark and we said we would get a moose, we would go out and get a moose for supper and get it done with. The moose is still there as far as I am concerned. We travelled all night looking for the elusive moose. We didn't see any signs of any moose, not even tracks. Then came snow, it snowed about a foot the first night. We had no snow shoes. Another exhibition of good judgment! It snowed all day and night and we had nothing to eat. The next day we said we had got this far we might as well get going. We boiled some tea and went on some more. That evening I shot a squirrel. We had the squirrel raw. That was two days' food. We said, "We are feeling pretty good. Now, let's have another drink of tea and go on." We went on and came to a lake called 'Iron Lake.' We went around and in one corner there ran out at about the same corner two creeks, almost parallel, the one with the water running one way and the other with the water running the other way. We crossed the one with the water running to the left and in about fifteen minutes after we crossed the creek with the water running to the right. We thought we had returned and crossed the same creek and as a matter of fact that fooled us and started us on a four and a half day expedition of foolishness. The next day we had no longer any tea. We managed to shoot a partridge and quarrelled quite violently over who shouldn't have the breast. Each wanted to give the other fellow the breast. We compromised by cutting it in two. I looked quite longingly at the feathers after the meal was over, too.

The next night we had no fire. We had run out of matches. The fourth day we came across where a moose had been killed a long, long time ago. There was nothing left but the bones and the bones had been nicely—how will I say it?—weathering in the sun, perhaps a couple of months. We were glad to take stones, light a fire, put the bones on the stones until they got hot, break them open and eat the marrow of the bones, which was rotten. I can't say that I ate the meal with any relish. I couldn't help but think of the squirrel hide I had thrown away. There was nothing wrong with it except that it had some hair on it.

The next day we began to fall over things, we fell over invisible things. When you are hungry like that you don't see things. Finally, a bunch of Indians found us and they came with dog teams and took us home. I was violently sick for about a month after that. After a thing like that a man doesn't mind missing a meal.

I remember the best meal I ever had. Comfort, you know, is a comparative term, so is hardship. Comfort consists in getting the thing you want if you want it badly enough at the time. I had wanted that particular meal very badly. I had gone about forty miles that day, an unusual distance to make on snow-shoes in one day. The snow-shoeing was hard, and I had stopped to make a fire. The way we make a fire in that country, when there is between six and eight feet of snow, we cut a green tree in six foot lengths, and lay it on top of the snow like a grate. If you don't do that the fire will work down through the six foot of snow and there will be nothing but smoke. That grate will last long enough to hold the fire for the period of the dinner hour. I took some little bits of bannock and some pieces of pork, put them on top of brush on the grate, over the fire, then put some more brush on top and covered it with snow. It would never freeze there. Snow is impervious to frost. I went on my way and about ten o'clock that night a blizzard came up, a real, howling devil of a blizzard such as you read about, only reading doesn't half begin to tell what it is like. It went down to forty below. I had all this distance to go down but I wanted this meal when I got back to where my cache was. I started back. There was a head wind and that snow cut a person's face like vollies of sand or broken glass and in a country where it is that cold the fires of vitality begin to burn awful low without food. Ten hours without food may mean nearly anything—you may never be able to arrive anywhere. But I felt confident and I got back to the cache, only to find that the whisky jackers had been there. You men all know what whisky jackers are — a bird who sticks closer than a brother and who knows the steak from the neck when it comes to your meat supply. He had taken everything but a small piece of bannock and a piece of pork and they had been pulled out of the bag and had been frozen hard. In that place, exposed as it was, it was impossible to make a fire. I took the piece of bannock and held it in my hand to thaw it. I took the pork and held it in my mouth to thaw it. For the first moment or two it stuck to my lips and froze there. I kept it there until it got gooey, and eventually I was able to eat it. I had to use my axe to whittle pieces off my piece of bannock. I lost a few chips and I would sooner have lost a whole bucket of diamonds any time than those few chips of bannock. This half frozen mass got down until it hit bottom and boy, did she hit? It was cold!

Hunger to us is a regular thing, quite a common incident. When I went to England I found that hunger there does not exist at all. After the simple diet I had been in the habit of living on, the immense variety of food served in the hotels—I couldn't eat half of it—was a revelation to me. I am a night bird, as you know. I spend most of the nights awake. I spend most of my nights travelling—that is why I am given this name. So, in England, I worked all day lecturing and travelling and stayed up half the night. I would get bored and go down and talk to the night waiters in the lounge and, by the way, I found that waiters can be perfect gentlemen. I think often the only difference between a patron and the man who serves him is in the length of his coat tails and the way his pants act around the ankles. I found the waiters to be perfect gentlemen. They had a great insight into human nature. I told him a lot of stories, I told starvation stories and then he gave me something to eat. He followed with a story about a man who was very noted as an epicure. He wanted a grouse and he wanted it hung very long, longer than usual. He wanted it very high indeed, and he stipulated that the intestines must remain in the grouse during the hanging period. They say when the tail falls off, it's ready. When the great day came, he came along, all dolled up to eat it. The grouse was placed on the table before him, he opened it and flew in a great rage. He said to the waiter, "Have you the same intestines in, that the grouse was born with?" He said, "Yes." "Well," said the epicure, "You should have taken them out and put another set in. I won't eat it."

I had my cocoa and thought to myself about a time when I was travelling in the woods and had been two days and a half without food and I found in the snow the remains of a partridge which had been killed by an owl. He is a dainty eater, he will not eat intestines, he is not an epicure. I found a few feathers, the feet and the intestines, and I, a man, the leading creature of the world, was glad to play scavenger to an owl. I took the intestines, thawed them out and was mighty glad to eat them. When I told the waiter the story I thought of the epicure. He couldn't eat the bird without the right kind of intestines. How in the name of God would he like to eat the intestines without the bird?

Now a word or two about us. Mind you, the fact that I am an Indian doesn't make any difference to me, we are all Canadians together, we are trying to build the country; I am trying to do my bit in my small way, perhaps a different way to yours but if we each stay on the road we know we won't wobble off, we will all get there, we will all arrive about the same time and something will be accomplished. I am a little slow at accomplishing, I am not an executive, I can't push buttons and get things done. I have to influence the Indians, and influence the Government, and influence you people. I have got to influence my own people, I have got to sell myself to you. I have to sell Canada to the Canadians. Do you know, the average Canadian doesn't know his own country, he doesn't begin to know the half of it. I won't say the most, but a large proportion don't care either, and that is why that great heritage of ours that lies to the north is being destroyed, wiped off the face of the earth while we sit down complacently and eat meals and talk over microphones. That north country is the greatest asset we have and it should be heard from. It is the greatest potential asset that Canada has. Think of the tourist trade. Now, nobody thinks much about the tourist trade. Do you realize that the Americans dropped, two or three years ago, $260,000,000 in this country of ours? That is a rustle of currency worth having, worth keeping. They didn't come up to this country to see you or me, or our hotels or our skyscrapers or our railways or anything of the kind. They came to see our wild life, our huge stretches of forests and lakes and the beauty of the scenery. They come up to see the natives and they would sooner see the Indians, a picturesque spot on the landscape than a blot as they are at the present time. If we haven't those things, they simply say there is nothing there. They won't come back and where is your $260,000,000? It is worth keeping.

Here is something else. A bargain in wheat never made a nation great. It may be profitable but it never made anyone great. Your souls have to have something, too, that you find nowhere else as in the north country. I notice the money-changers among the nations are conspicuously absent in the list of the great nations and we must not let the idea of profit alone obsess us. We have got to have art, we have something intrinsically Canadian that no other country has. Any country has skyscrapers, fat hogs, fields of wheat. We have got to have commercialism and lots of it. Otherwise, we don't have progress. But we have to have the other thing, too. Do you realize that there is only one-quarter of Canada in the hands of civilization? The other three-quarters are in the hands of the Indians, for all anybody dare tell them it isn't. That is the richest part of Canada.

I suppose a great many people in Canada wonder why we don't lecture in Canada. By now, it should be obvious to you that I need more training in lecturing before I face an audience of my own people. I have some important things to say and I want to say them right. I am going to Europe next winter and I am going to England again and I am going to go to the States. I am in no sense trying it out on the dog, but I am getting training there and formulating ideas. Remember, I only emerged—when I was fourteen I talked a very fair pidgeon English—I have only emerged from, I don't like the word 'savagery,' primitiveness, if there is such a word. I have only come out in the open, so to speak, to civilized people during the last two years. I have to have time. I am learning, I intend to keep on learning and when the proper time comes I will address my own people. I have often been asked where I got the power (the 'guts' was the word that was used) to come out before a large audience in a foreign country. When I say a foreign country, it is different people, of course, in England. I have been asked where I got the power to stand and do that confidently and talk to people. It is not me at all. I have behind me that immense north country, I have the power of it standing behind me, greater than you or I. I am only the screen for the picture I wish to show. I am the mouthpiece. I have the unlimited experience of those of my people behind me, besides my own life experience.

I have my idea the we people need not be the hoboes and misfits we are at the present time. Civilization has made the Indian an outcast in his own country. That sounds like a paradox but it is a fact. Now you have beaten him, you have to keep him. That is a wrong state of affairs. You people are taxpayers, it is costing a lot of money to keep us in idleness and watch us disintegrate and slowly fade away. We have our place in the economic scheme of life in Canada and we want the same jobs we had before. We can do it. And it is worth trying one more experiment on that great job after the many failures you have already had. Put the Indian where he can do the most work and the most good for the country, a fifty-fifty proposition. You give us education, give us recognition, and we will look after your north country for you. (Applause.)

I know what you are all waiting for. You want to hear something about beaver. Well, we will talk about beaver. It is my favourite subject and it never gets tedious, though I have put it to the end of the programme. I have a couple of notes here, I can't see them but I know they are there. You have often read and perhaps you have wondered why one man devotes his life to the preservation of an animal. Did it ever strike you that these animals are not inferior beings? They are put on the earth for a special purpose, and they should not be destroyed, tortured, burned and double-crossed as is being done. Those animals have a place, and the beaver definitely has his place. The function of the beaver is to retain water; in areas where the beaver has been removed there is a shortage of water. There is a shortage of water in the West, mainly owing to the fact that the beaver have been ruthlessly removed. I am a professional beaver hunter. Originally, I killed the beaver as ruthlessly as the rest, until I saw the outside hunters coming in and using brutal methods, methods that we wouldn't stoop to, and then I began to have a fellow feeling for the beaver. I said, I am like a man betraying his country into the hands of the enemy, I will do it no more. I will be like Paul, though I am by no means a saint, and I tried to help those whom I had so assiduously persecuted for so long. I used the beaver as the thin edge of the wedge to gain the interest of the public in wild life. To hear the beaver talk it sounds like people from another planet talking in a tongue we do not understand, like little children. I can tell a hundred stories of the childlike appeal of the beaver. They have inspired most of my work. I am not a writer yet, I don't intend to be, but I intend to get some stuff on paper before it is impossible to get it.

You people did well when you picked the beaver as a representative animal of the country. The beaver's determination, its assiduous industry is simply marvellous. Here is a case of determination. I want to tell you the beaver is rather destructive. Don't try keeping beaver about, they may take a liking to your furniture and you will find your Louis XV, and your Chippendale pieces of furniture without legs. I left two small beaver behind in the cabin one day and when I came back I found the door difficult to open. That was because the blankets had been laid in front of the door to stop the draft. The place was a wreck, it looked as though a cyclone had passed through. The tables were down, the dishes had disappeared, they had gone in the beaver den in one wall—a lot of them are there yet. The washstand had been neatly raised to a place on the bed. The soap was gone and a five-gallon can of coal oil had fallen off the table, right side up. The floor was covered with chips and strings. I said, "This was pretty good." It was the first time it ever happened. It has often happened since. I have learned to build furniture very quickly. The beaver is quite destructive, but they will run up to you and you can't punish them. They run up to you feeling all the joy of a good job, well done. When a beaver has determined to do something, neither you or I or anybody else can stop him doing it unless we stay awake 24 hours at a time and hold them, and that is a hard thing to do.

I remember an instance in one of the parks. There was a road alongside a lake and the water was no more than a foot or so below the road. It was a valuable road, a highway. Some beaver came wandering down and decided to build on the lake. They built a three-foot dam which flooded the road for about half a mile. The Superintendent came down and looked over it and he said, "We will have to move the little fellows. When is the best time to do it?" I said, "The best time is in August. The young ones are grown up and can move with the parents and it is not too late for them to go some place else." He said, "All right. Are you in agreement?" I said, "Yes."

So they got a bunch of men and they put up their tents. They had a case or two of dynamite. I told them to just blow a little piece out the first time. They blew a little piece out, nothing at all, and the next morning the little piece was back in the dam. The foreman said, "All right. Remove a little more." They blew up a bigger piece and the next day the piece was back in the dam. He said, "I have a notion to remove the whole dam." I said, "Don't do that just yet. They will get annoyed by this kind of thing after a while and will move out." Anyway, at last the Superintendent came, they kept rebuilding the dam, and he said, "I guess I will have to blow it out." I said, "Okay, blow it out. Do it in the morning when they are all sleeping, it won't hurt them." They blew the entire dam out on Saturday. The men went back to camp. No good working man will go to work on Sunday. They lay around camp all day Sunday thinking, "Well we fixed the beaver. Hope we didn't hurt the little fellows." On Monday morning we went back and the dam was a foot and a half higher and had flooded another quarter of a mile of the road. So the foreman said, "Well, Mr. Superintendent, what will we do? Blow it out again?" The Superintendent said, "No, move the road. It's cheaper." (Laughter.)

Mr. Eayrs has reminded me of a story of the fidelity of the beaver. It is rather a mushy story. I didn't think I should tell it to an audience of men. It illustrates the fidelity of the beaver. I have two beavers, Jelly Roll and Raw Hide. Wherever they got their names, I don't know, don't ask me. Jelly Roll weighs in the neighbourhood of 75 to 80 pounds. She is a big lump. She follows me all over, she loves me. She talks to me, she will stand on her hind legs and the attempts of that animal to make herself understood with me are sometimes ludicrous and sometimes quite pitiful. Of course living with them, and with their voice resembling the human voice so much, it is not hard to understand what is going on in their minds.

We have a habit of working naked to the waist. This particular instance was in the month of March. There was two or three feet of snow and we were moving some heavy logs. I was stripped to the waist; the wind turned to the north. I was quite interested in the work and didn't notice the change. I got chilled and the next day I was down. I had bronchial pneumonia. I had a telephone up on top of the hill and I used to go up and report every day how I was getting along. I had it up there where I could call them but they couldn't call me. I have found how important that is since I have been in Toronto. An aeroplane couldn't get to it, it couldn't land, the ice was in such shape that it couldn't land on the pontoons. It was snowing and was so soft and wet that nothing could get in there and I was a hundred miles from the nearest civilization in nearly a dying condition. This isn't a hard luck story; the story is about beaver, but you have got to know the facts. I remember, at last I passed out of my head and I didn't know what was going on. I remember occasionally I had lucid intervals and as I looked down, there beside me on the floor was that beaver. The beaver was dry, I noticed that, and the floor was never wet; and a number of times during the ensuing days and nights I looked over and the beaver was still there. She wanted to get up on the bunk but I had purposely made the bunk just too high for them to get in because they fall out and hurt themselves. She reached and pulled and tried to get hold to pull herself up. I don't know how many days I laid there. The floor was never wet and there was no evidence that the animal had ever gone out of the cabin. I knew that this animal knew there was something wrong with me, that her friend was down and out. She couldn't do a thing but she did the only thing she could do, she stood by. A dog wouldn't do more and I know human beings who wouldn't do that much. That is part of my reward for the effort I have made for those animals. I say it is really worth it, after all. (Applause.)

I want you gentlemen to remember this one thing. I have been often asked what my work consists of. It begins to be rather ambiguous, I think. It is this: I want to arouse in Canadian people—excuse me speaking off my subject, I do that continually as thoughts come, I won't read a lecture—I want to arouse in the Canadian people a sense of responsibility, the great responsibility they have for that north country and its inhabitants, human and animal. I thank you. (Hearty Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Grey Owl, in thanking you for this most interesting and instructive address, I think I can safely voice the feeling of all within the sound of your voice and say that you have entertained us, you have instructed us, and you have taught us a moral lesson, namely, to look after our country. We have learned a good deal about the Northland today, we have learned a good deal about the beaver, and last, but not least, we hve learned a great deal about Grey Owl, to his great credit. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

EMPIRE RELATIONS

An Address by VISCOUNT COBHAM
(Lord-Lieutenant County and City of Worcester)

Thursday, 19*th November,* 1936

President: Gentlemen, I welcome to the Empire Club of Canada many of the officials and many others interested in the Royal Winter Fair now in progress in this City. Particularly, I welcome those interested in the Horse Show branch of the Royal Winter Fair. At our head-table we have the honour of having the Army Teams who are competing in the International jumping events. I am going to ask these competitors in their uniforms to stand to get your acknowledgement. (Applause.)

We are particularly indebted today to the President of the Royal Winter Fair, Mr. Gordon F. Perry, for the attendance of these Army rivals at this luncheon. Mr. Perry, in addition to being President of the Fair, is Chairman of the Horse Show Committee and as such has associated with him at the head-table, on our invitation, many of those interested in that branch of the Winter Fair. It is to Mr. Perry also that credit should be given for the honour we have in the attendance of Viscount Cobham, our guest-speaker. Despite the youthful, fresh, athletic appearance of our guest-speaker, he has had a remarkable career already. He is a veteran, not only of the South African War but of the Great War. He has sat in Parliament as a Member of the House of Commons in England. He is a diplomat and in fact for over thirteen years has been Lord-Lieutenant of the County and City of Worcester. Viscount Cobham will today address us on "Empire Relations." I have much pleasure, Gentlemen, in introducing to you His Lordship Viscount Cobham! (Applause.)

VISCOUNT COBHAM: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I suppose you won't just allow me to stand up and sit down again, like you have your other guests? It would be so much easier because, after all, I have only left England less than a fortnight ago and I arrived in this country less than a week ago.

I thank you, Sir, for the very generous way in which you have referred to me in making your introduction and I should like to thank you for your most generous reception of me. You invited me to come to this country to take part in your great Royal Winter Show. When I received that invitation earlier in the summer, I felt it such a great honour that I cancelled many other engagements in order to be able to accept it. (Applause.) Believe me, Gentlemen, I shall certainly never regret having done so. But, as I said, you invited me here as a horse judge, and here am I, going to address this great gathering and to make a speech on a matter of great moment. I refer to myself as a Jack-of-all-Trades and perhaps you, in your charity and generosity, will not add the obvious corollary, Master of none.

You have heard that I have undertaken to speak about Empire Relations and you will not misunderstand me when I say I am not going to do so in perhaps the more intimate way in which that expression could be interpreted, but I am going to take it on the widest possible aspect. You will not expect me to deal with trade relationship, a vast subject, but of course one in which is necessary a great mastery of detail. Nor, do I intend to speak about immigration and the help that you can give to the Old Country by opening your doors to those from Great Britain who wish to come to Canada.

Before I launch out on the main theme upon which I am speaking I should like to trace something of the history of the past thirty or forty years which has led up to it. There are many of us in this room who can remember something of the Victorian era, still more of the Edwardian era, those two phases in English history of perhaps unexampled prosperity. In those years, it is not too much to say that among the mass of our people in Great Britain, the colonies, the Dominions, the Empire overseas was very largely, I won't say misunderstood, but it did not come within the embrace of their glamorous prosperity. They felt themselves all within themselves. They felt a security that could never be challenged. They lived to look forward to many years of that prosperity in which they were then living. You know, as well as I do, that the old charge of insularity was not entirely baseless. There was certainly some foundation for it and it was not until a politician of singular vision arose in Great Britain, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who first began to develop the idea of the great family of nations which formed the British Empire, that thinking people on the other side of the ocean began to wonder in regard to the future destiny of that Empire. England very largely then was living on her prosperity and to a certain extent was living on the record of her great history, a history of which you are the heirs, no less than we are.

When I was in Parliament I made friends with a very fine old gentleman, Mr. John Burns, one of the originals of the leaders of labour in the end of the eighties and in the nineties, a real old character in himself, with the gentlest heart and a friend to all men. He was showing a party of Americans over the House of Commons and he made a remark of which he was so proud that he repeated it to all of us, his friends, afterwards in the House of Commons. He took them out on the terrace and showed them the River Thames flowing below. An American lady expressed disparagement at the look of the little river, the sluggish-flowing, dirty stream, as you see it in London. John Burns turned to her and said, "Ah, my dear lady, you may talk of your Hudson, your Colorado and your Mississippi, but this old Thames is liquid history." (Applause.) And very proud he was of that remark, as he had every reason to be, but the danger in it lies if you try to live on your past history, you are keeping your eyes on your past and not on your future.

King George, His Late Majesty, made no mistake when about the year 1910 or 1911 he renewed his exhortation to England to "Wake up." We needed it. And, Gentlemen, we got it, for perhaps nowhere in the world did the Great War of 1914 come with a greater shock than it did to the people of Great Britain. We were jerked with a rude suddenness out of that lull of security in which we had been living into the turmoil of the Great War, to the end of which no man could look with any certainty, launched out into completely uncharted seas. That war woke us up with a vengeance. We learned a good deal during the progress of it. One great thing that we learned was that the unity of the Empire was no mere expression but a complete reality, for it wasn't the forces of Great Britain that lent so much to the final victory, it was the forces of the Empire that achieved that end.

After the war we led the nations in an endeavour to establish the world peace. We, perhaps more than any other nation, gave our backing to the League of Nations. It is doubtful whether the League of Nations would ever have continued had it not been for our backing. We reduced our armaments in the hope that Europe would also disarm. We reduced them to the danger point and beyond the danger point. We made mistakes in doing so, but I think the effort was worth making, but we made a mistake. Incidentally, Gentlemen, we are one of the very few nations that freely owns that we do make mistakes. It doesn't matter owning up to a mistake if you are prepared to learn a lesson from those mistakes. (Applause.)

Now, we have been forced into a position, admittedly, that we don't like. We have been forced to rearm and we are rearming. Make no mistake about it, Gentlemen, the rearming of Great Britain that is going on at the present time is a very real thing and a great effort. It is comparable with the effort that she made in the Great War. She is carrying a heavy burden of taxation, yet all our people are resolved to see this thing through and in the course of a year or so you will see a rearmed Great Britain, ready to give the full force to her old motto of "Defence, not Defiance." I say that the effort that is being made is a real one. If you could visit England at the present time you would see it going on. In my home, where I live, I am just south of a great tract of country in the Midlands, known as the Black Country, and I go up to the hills behind my home and look to the north and see that country where the people live in a bleared twilight that passes for day, under those sulphurous skies, but in that country men are working day and night. It is a steel and coal and iron country and they are working day and night producing armour, producing the munitions, the numberless other things that go to make up the armaments of a great nation.

We may ask ourselves why should all this be? Is war then so imminent that we have got to take our place in the race of rearmament? It is perfectly true, as you all know, Gentlemen, that Europe is restless, that the nations over there exist side by side in fear, suspicion, distrust of one another. You, over here, may not fully realize that. It is perhaps too much to expect that you would because, after all, you are not living on dynamite. The smallest spark might start another war and another great war in Europe and it is for that reason that we, who believe that world peace largely depends on us, have got to rearm to prevent war.

Before I came on my visit here a friend of mine said to me, "You will find Canada very Americanized." I have thought of that expression a very great deal on the voyage out and since I have been in Canada and came to realize what it really meant. What my friend had in mind I really don't know but I am taking the phrase he expressed because it will add force to what I am now going to say. It is perfectly true that anybody landing first in Canada meets several features that are common to the United States and Canada but you very quickly come to realize that the sympathy between the two great nations is a sympathy of understanding, a sympathy of culture, but by no means a political unity. (Applause.) Each of these two great countries has got its own political destiny, has got its own political ideals and each of these two great countries intends to work out those political ideals in their own way. You, here in Canada, have got that tie with Great Britain, a tie as light as air but stronger than any forged steel could make it. To imagine that anybody on the other side of the ocean thinks that there is any desire on the part of Canada to loosen that tie, would be absolutely and entirely false. We are looking for the answer to this problem in altogether a different way.

The Americanization of Canada. Why not the Canadianization of America? It means just the same thing. Carry it one stage further and ask yourselves whether we do not need, over on the other side of the Atlantic, for England to become more Frenchified, for France to become more Germanized, for Germany to understand England and France better. Then, we can perhaps get Italy and Russia to complete it. (Laughter.) That is really the meaning of the phrase. You have come in this continent to this real understanding. You read each other's newspapers freely. Great tides of tourists and traders cross your borders like the ebb and flow of the ocean. You have given us the lesson that we require in Europe to understand our neighbouring countries. You have done more than that. In this situation, in this international goodwill which now exists between Canada and the United States lies the only real foundation for the peace of the world, and all the world must achieve it or perish. But world-peace must be built up first and foremost on an understanding between all the English speaking peoples of the world. In this structure, Canada has already achieved her understanding with her great southern neighbour, and in the consummation of the solidarity in Anglo-American understanding, Canada is the keystone of the arch. All our hope in the future is founded upon that understanding, is founded upon that policy, and we look to Canada to give us that help in achieving the result for which we hope.

Is war then inevitable? I have been asked that question more than once since I have landed in Canada. I never believe in inevitable wars and the very danger of the situation over in Europe is one of the factors, perhaps the greatest factor which will prevent such an explosion breaking out.

No doubt you read in the press of the United States, in your own press, various comments upon the situation. Let me for a moment read another comment which I have got from a paper: "It is a gloomy moment in history. Never in the lifetime of those who read this has there been so much grave apprehension, never has the future seemed so incalculable. There is universal commercial prostration and thousands of our poorer fellow citizens are turned out against an approaching winter without employment and without the prospect of it. In France, the political cauldron seethes with uncertainty. Russia hangs like a cloud, dark and silent upon the horizon of Europe. All the energies and resources of the British Empire are sorely tried in coping with India. It is a solemn moment and no man can feel an indifference to the issue of events." Yes, that is all very well, Gentlemen, but that quotation was culled from an American paper, *Harper's Weekly,* and it was written in 1857. With the alteration of a word here and there you could repeat it verbatim for what we are reading in the papers today, and that is a matter of great encouragement and hope. There are always and always have been these Jeremiahs, expressing such feelings in the papers, and it becomes still more hopeful when we remember that the fifty years after 1857 were fifty years of perhaps the greatest peace and prosperity that our nation has ever enjoyed. So, there is reason and real reason for hope, but at the same time, of course, the situation is not altogether an easy one.

I have indicated the direction in which our hopes are set in achieving a world peace in the closer union and closer understanding of the English speaking peoples of the world. It is a great policy and it is a policy worthy of our people to undertake. It is difficult to see how in any other direction we can achieve that world peace. Treaties, alliances and pacts and protocols are being freely torn up every day and the only real world peace can rest on that greater sympathy, that greater understanding between the nations of the world. "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in." When Abraham Lincoln used those words, his eyes were set on a closer horizon than that which I am asking you today to survey but, Gentlemen, the work we are all in is really none other than the work for the peace of the world.

This Royal Winter Show of yours in rightly dedicated to the youth of the Canadian nation. When we think of that isn't it right that we should consider what sort of heritage we are going to pass on to that youth? It is up to us, every one of us, to work, to strive with all our might to achieve that understanding, to work for that peace and so to hand on a torch of which at least we shall not be ashamed. (Prolonged applause.)

PRESIDENT: Your Lordship, on behalf of the large meeting of our members and guests and also on behalf of all within the reach of your voice on the radio, I wish to thank you for this message of hope that you have given us.

I again wish also to thank the Royal Winter Fair which has been instrumental in having this, your first visit to Canada, so I believe, made possible. Your address has given us a fresh inspiration toward the aim of the British Empire for which this Club stands. You have taught us that the Old Country will not only lead the British Empire into the ways of understanding and peace, but will lead the whole world to that understanding and peace for which we all should strive. I thank you, Your Lordship, for coming here today and giving us this inspiring address. I need add very little to the manifest appreciation of the audience here today. Thank you. (Applause.)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE MIGRATION PROBLEM

AN ADDRESS BY SIR FRANCIS FLOUD, K.C.B.

Thursday, 26th November, 1936

PRESIDENT: My Lord, Sir Francis and Gentlemen: We are particularly fortunate in the Empire Club of Canada in having opportunities to hear guest-speakers from Great Britain who are willing to discuss with us the problems of Empire and to do what has been so aptly put, very recently in this Club, that is to create the spirit of understanding and goodwill which will lead to a permanent peace and the carrying on of friendship, not only in the British Empire but the whole of the civilized world. We are today delighted to have with us a speaker who is particularly qualified, not only by his official position of High Commissioner for Great Britain in Canada, but because of his experience in the old Country as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Labour and in the Ministry of Agriculture, to address us on the subject he has chosen. The subject of his address is "Some Aspects of the Migration Problem." We, in Canada, look on the migration problem as the immigration problem. It will be interesting, indeed, to hear some of the discussion from a viewpoint which has possibly been described as the emigration problem. I have much pleasure in introducing Sir Francis Floud.

SIR FRANCIS FLOUD, K.C.B.: Mr. President, My Lord, and Gentlemen: In choosing the subject of migration to talk to you today, I should like to make it plain, in the first place, that I am not here to advocate any particular policy on this subject. As you know, migration at the present moment has been suspended for some time and the question whether it should be reopened is obviously one, in the first place, for the decision of the Canadian Government, and not the Government of the United Kingdom. It is for the Canadian Government to say when they think the time has come when migration into Canada may again be resumed. That time is obviously depedent on whether they are satisfied that the economic conditions for migration are favourable and that settlers from the Old Country or from other parts of the world can be absorbed into the life of Canada without doing harm to the Canadian people themselves. Consequently, the United Kingdom Government would not wish to press for the stimulation or assistance of migration until the conditions are favourable, and until Canada wants it and is ready to co-operate in making it a real success. But I think that the present time, when the question is in suspense is an opportunte time to consider some of the problems that arise on the question of migration and also to correct some of the misapprehensions which are current, not only in Canada but perhaps even more in the United Kingdom itself.

The first point I would like to make is that we, in the Old Country, don't regard the emigration of our people as a remedy for our problem of unemployment. We have got to shoulder our own burden in regard to unemployment and I think you would agree that on the whole we are doing it not unsuccessfully. (Applause.) There has been a very remarkable reduction in unemployment during the last three or four years and we have never desired to shift any part of our burden of unemployment on to the other Dominions and the other parts of the Empire. The experience of the past has shown that migration is a symptom of prosperity and not a cure for depression.

There is another fallacy which has been somewhat common on which I would like to say a word also. I have heard it said in Canada and in the United Kingdom that there is a large accumulated fund available for the purpose of assisting migration under the Empire Settlement Act. That is a complete fallacy. The Empire Settlement Act was passed in 1922, with the object of authorising cooperation between the Old Country and the Dominions in the assistance of migration, and it provided that for a period of fifteen years schemes might be agreed upon between the different parts of the Empire and that financial contributions on the basis of an equal sharing of the cost might be made by the United Kingdom and the Dominions. The Act placed a limit on the amount of money that might be provided for that purpose, that it should not exceed £3,000,000 in any one year. In point of fact that limit has never anything like been reached. The total expenditure on the part of the United Kingdom since 1922 has amounted to £6,000,000, mainly in the form of assistance toward the cost of passages of migrants from the Old Country to other parts of the Empire. It is sometimes supposed, therefore, that as the Act prescribed a maximum amount of £45,000,000, for the fifteen years, that the difference between that amount and the £6,000,000 that has been spent was still lying in the till, ready to be drawn upon when desired. That is not the case. In the Old Country, as, I think, in Canada, we have a wise provision in our financial system under which if money is voted by Parliament for some particular purpose and is not required to be spent in the year, it goes back into the Exchequer and is not available for future expenditure. That is what has happened with regard to the Empire Settlemenet Act so I hope it will not be supposed that there is this large sum, or indeed any sum, sitting idle, waiting to be expended for the purpose of settling people from the Old Country in Canada and the other parts of the Empire.

It is sometimes suggested also that it would be a good thing if a large scheme of migration was set on foot, the whole cost of which should be borne by the Treasury of the United Kingdom, in view of the fact that Canada is ready to provide land, that it has a great system of transportation, that it has expended large capital sums in developing its own country, and consequently that if the Old Country wishes to send migrants over here the whole of the cost of that operation should be borne by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. That, I think, is not a proposition that would ever be favoured by the Government of the United Kingdom and I venture to suggest, also, it would not be in the best interests of Canada itself.

If we are going to encourage migration from the Old Country to Canada it is surely of the first importance that the men and women who come here should become good Canadians. Canada has gained independent nationhood. She is mistress in her own house and the last thing, I suggest, that you should want would be a large incursion of people from the Old Country who would not regard Canada as their adopted home but who would always be looking back to the Old Country and looking to them for support when they got into difficulties. (Applause.) You don't want a sort of an alien enclave in the middle of Canada looking not to Canada but to the Old Country as its spiritual home.

Another consideration that I think we have to bear in mind is that the days of mass migration, of the kind that took place before the war and to some extent since the war in Canada, are probably over. In the year 1913, 400,000 emigrants came to Canada, of whom 120,000 were from the United Kingdom. In 1935 that number had fallen to 12,000, of whom only 2,000 came from the United Kingdom, and whereas in the years from 1926 to 1930, there was a net gain of immigration over emigration of 287,000 in Canada, in the four last years, from 1931 to 1935, there was an actual net loss of 60,000. That is to say, instead of there being a movement from the Old Country to Canada, the majority went the other way and there was a larger movement from Canada back to the Old Country.

Now, this question of migration has, of course, been considered at most of the Imperial Conferences that have been held in recent years. At the Imperial Conference of 1926 there was a resolution passed saying it was impracticable, owing to financial, economic and political considerations, to promote mass movements of population, and that resolution was endorsed by the Conference that sat in 1930 and they pointed out also that the primary consideration should be, not the conditions in the country which the settler is leaving but the absorptive capacity of the country to which he is proceeding. Now, when you consider the absorptive capacity of Canada, people, of course, are obviously struck by what we call the wide open spaces and the comparative small density of the population compared to the old countries of Europe. But there are a good many fallacies in that. There was a Committee appointed in 1932, under the Chairmanship of Lord Astor, which went very carefully into this question and they came to the conclusion that Canada might absorb something like 40,000 people a year from the United Kingdom when conditions became favourable, and the Canadian Government themselves have pointed out that the annual surplus in Canada of births over deaths, amounting to 125,000 a year, affords in itself in considerable measure the increase in population which is practicable and desirable under present conditions. They pointed out also that immigration is not feasible until the absorption of the unemployed in Canada, itself consisting in substantial measure of comparatively recent immigrants, has reached a further stage.

It is pertinent also to bear in mind that even in the days when large numbers of immigrants were coming here, they didn't represent all net gain. The population of Canada doubled in the period from 1901 to the end of 1931. It rose from 5,000,000 at the beginning of the century to something like 10,000,000 in 1931 and, during that time, the total number of emigrants coming to Canada was just about equal to the increase in the population—5,000000. But there was also the natural increase of Canada's own population by the excess of births over deaths and that amounted to 3,300,000, and the consequence is that the net increast in the population of Canada, made up of immigrants and the natural increase was offset by something over 3,400,000 people who left Canada for other parts of the world during that period. To put it shortly, out of every 50 migrants who came to Canada, only about 16 or 17 constituted a net addition to the population.

There is another factor also which must be taken into account. That is that it seems unlikely that there will be much further large development of the wheat area. The expansion of the wheat area in Canada has largely been linked up with the great mass migrations that have taken place. I was reading the other day a very interesting report of a soil survey of a large part of the Province of Saskatchewan. This survey covered something like two-fifths of the Province, all that part which is settled, and they pointed out that the era of rapid agricultural development of new land is at an end. Out of something like 94,000 square miles which formed the subject of that survey it is estimated that only about 30 per cent can be classed as good agricultural land, and something like 44 per cent is ranked as poor or very poor. Obviously, that is not the class of land on which it would be wise to try and settle a large number of people from other parts of the world.

We must also bear in mind that there has been in the immigration of the past a fairly considerable element of foreign peoples from other parts of the world. At the present time in the prairie provinces the number of people of British birth number 316,000; as against that the foreign born are more than double, 633,000, and there has been in recent years a tendency for the foreign born proportion of the total population of Canada to increase. I don't wish for a moment to suggest that a very large number of these foreign born immigrants have not made very good settlers. We all know that they have but, at the same time, speaking to the Empire Club of Canada, I think I might perhaps be permitted to say that we believe it would be in the best interests, not only of the United Kingdom, but of Canada itself, if and when migration can be resumed, that every effort should be made to have as large a proportion as possible of the new settlers coming from the Old Country with the traditions which we share in common with you. (Applause.)

But, apart from all these factors I have already mentioned, there is one which perhaps dominates the situation more than any other. I suppose the most important feature in the world at the present time is the tendency to a decline in population in most of the white countries of world. It has been going on gradually for some time but the effect has been masked by the fact that the drop in the birth-rate has been largely counterbalanced by a corresponding drop in the death rate. The birth-rate in England and Wales has fallen from 35 per 1,000 in the years from 1870 to 1880 to 14 per 1,000 at the present time, a drop of more than a half. At the same time, the death rate has fallen from 25 per 1,000 to 12 and, consequently there has been still a gradual though smaller increase in population in each period between the respective censuses. Canada is fortunate in having a death rate a good deal lower than we have in the Old Country. It is only 9 per 1,000, but even in Canada there are signs that the birth rate is steadily falling. It was 24 per 1,000 in the years of 1926 to 1930. In 1934 it had fallen to 20, and even in the Province of Quebec which is proverbial for its large families it has fallen from 30 to 25. That is a process which is going on almost all over the world. There are some exceptions. There is a very high birth rate still in Japan, over 30 per 1,000. In Russia it is something like 38 and in India it is 35, but in all the great, highly civilized countres of the world this same tendency is going on and it is bound to have a very profound effect on the possibility of any large scale migration in the future.

So far as Great Britain is concerned if the fall in the birth rate continues and there is no net migration it has been estimted that the population of Great Britain will fall by 12,000,000 in the next 40 years. Now, that is going to have some very serious consequences for all of us. It is going to mean for one thing, which is of interest to Canada, a very substantial shrinkage in the British market for the purchase of Canadian goods. It is going to mean a fall in the demand for food, houses, land and education. It is going to mean a greatly increased burden of taxation on the people of our country and it is going to be coupled with a very large increase in the proportion of the old people in the population. Some very striking figures have been got out on that point by some of our statisticians. If the total population falls by 25 per cent in the next 40 years the population under 45 years of age will fall by 50 per cent and whereas at the present time we have something like 3,000,000 old people, over 65 years of age, in 40 years time it looks as though we shall have nearly 6,000,000. Side by side with that there is going to be a tremendous drop in the number of children. Whereas we have now something like 10,000,000 children under 15, in 40 years time we shall have only 4,000,000.

Now, that abnormal age distribution is going to be a very serious factor for all of us. It is going to mean that the burden on the men and women of working age is going to be greatly increased. They are going to have a very much larger number of old people to support and it is going to mean also that the reserve available for migration is going to be very small indeed. In fact we might say from our own point of view it seems unlikely we shall have any substantial surplus for migration to other parts of the Empire and, as I said, side by side with that there is going to be a reduced demand in the Old Country for the goods you produce.

It seems clear, therefore, that if Canada wants in the future to have British migrants it will be essential that the conditions should be made really attractive. Settlers are unlikely to leave the familiar surroundings and the amenities to which they have been accustomed in the Old

Country unless they can see a really good prospect of improving their conditions and raising their standard of life by coming to other parts of the Empire, and in that connection, I would suggest, that it would be wise not to try and paint the picture in too rosy colours. I remember in the days when I was associated with the Ministry of Agriculture, there was a very efficient and vigorous propaganda carried out in all parts of our rural districts, trying to persuade our agricultural and rural population to come and settle in Canada, but I think the picture was often painted in too rosy colours. Canada was depicted as a land of apple blossom, waving corn and perpetual sunshine and, although I should be the last to deny that you have all of those three in abundant measure, after all, it is not the whole of the picture, and unless the settler is warned that he has got to face a very severe climate, that if he is going out to the west he has got to put up with a good deal of loneliness, that he may find himself planted down among rather an alien population, that he will find a considerable lack of the social amenities to which he has been accustomed, unless he is warned of that and goes into it with his eyes open, there are bound to be far more disappointments and failures than we should wish to see.

I think it is also well to remember that any scheme of land settlement on the unoccupied land of Canada is bound to be pretty expensive and a rather speculative business. I take as an example the scheme that was set in operation not many years ago for settling 3,000 British families in different parts of the Dominion, mainly in the Prairie Provinces. 3,300 British families came out. At the present time there are only 1,700 left on the farms. Over 1,000 of them found work in other directions in Canada. 310 of the families, just under 10 per cent of the total, returned to Great Britain in despair. The total cost has been something like $16,000,000 and it was hoped that that amount would be repaid gradually over a period of 25 years. Unfortunately, as we all know, that part of the country has been very hard hit in the last six or seven years by drought and bad harvests. The result is that the repayments up to the present have not amounted to more than $2,000,000. In the first year 53 per cent of the settlers repaid the amount due on their loans. Last year only 2 per cent were able to do so and it is quite clear, therefore, that the losses, both to Canada and to the United Kingdom on that scheme are bound to be very heavy. The average capital debt of each settler when he took up his land was just over $5,000. It has already been necessary to make substantial reductions for which we are very much indebted to the co-operation and the generosity of the Canadian Government, but even now, in spite of the fact that 30 per cent of the debt has been let off, and that considerable reductions are being made under the Farmers Creditors Arrangement Act, the average arrears of interest alone for each settler remaining is over $400.

Now, those are rather depressing figures but they do show that the kind of schemes that are often advocated of large scale group settlement do require very careful consideration. The old days of homesteading seem to be over and if people are to come out from the Old Country, I suggest that opportunity ought to be open to them not only for settlement on the land but in order that they may take their part in the other developments of Canadian life. One of the most striking features in recent years has been the remarkable development in your mining industry and I should hope when economic conditions improve, as they are already showing signs of improving, that there may be some opportunity for people from the Old Country to come and share in that great development of your natural resources.

Now, I don't want you to feel, although I feel bound to point out, perhaps, some of the difficulties and some of the rather depressing features in this problem, I don't want you to feel that I am trying to put a damper on any idea of migration in the future. As I have said, it is a matter for the Government of Canada to decide when it can be resumed, but when that day comes, and I hope it may come soon, I think there are, in spite of the difficulties, real possibilities of quite a considerable movement from the United Kingdom to Canada. We have been able in recent years to draw closer the bonds of trade between the two countries and the more we can develop that the more favourable is likely to be the opportunity for migration from the Old Country, but we must remember that migration has got to be linked with the economic conditions of the country. The fact that there might at any time be a surplus population in the United Kingdom and large unoccupied spaces in Canada does not mean that mere transference of one to the other is going to be any solution of the difficulties of either country. It may, indeed, make matters worse. It is essential that the settlers should feel that they are likely to be able to make a living in the country to which they go and the mere provision of capital by the United Kingdom for new settlers cannot in itself produce the prosperity that is an essential condition of success. What we ought to do, therefore, I suggest, is to work together in every way that we can to try and create the conditions that are favourable to a resumption of migration and to remember that it is prosperity and not depression that is the governing factor in the matter.

Then, finally, I think we should try and keep a sense of proportion in this matter. Grandiose schemes of group settlement on the land are not really going to be an adequate solution. It has been estimated that even the most that could be done in that way would be perhaps the settlement of some 2,500 people each year, say 10,000 persons, including their families, and that is not going to make any very substantial impression on the population of Canada. But if we can create favourable conditions for a free, independent and profitable occupation for the people who desire to come here, I am quite confident that there will be no lack of response in the old Country, where the spirit of enterprise and adventure is just as strong among our people as it has ever been in the past, as I think has been shown by the remarkable recovery that we have made from the depths of the depression.

(Hearty applause.)

PRESIDENT: Sir Francis, may I add to the demonstration you have already heard in this meeting, the thanks of all within the sound of your voice on the radio and all who may later read the report which will appear in the Year Book of the Empire Club of Canada of your speech given us today. It will be a valuable bit of literature in the hands of our future statesmen and all loyal Canadians, all members of the British Empire. You have not only given us the outline of the problems of migration, but of the broader subject of population itself. I can only add, Sir, that it is evident that your reputation for effectiveness with self-effacement, so characteristic of your race, has been duly demonstrated by this speech. Thank you.

(Applause.)

CANADA IN WORLD HISTORY

An Address by NORMAN WENTWORTH DeWITT, B.A., Ph.D., F.R.S,C.,

Thursday, 3rd December, 1936

The President: Gentlemen, before proceeding with today's luncheon, I wish to announce that the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, Prime Minister of Great Britain is expected to make an announcement over our broadcasting station at ten minutes to two, and our broadcast will therefore cease at that time. Subject to your confirmation, I have made arrangements so that the Prime Minister's announcement will be received by the loud speakers in this room, and our proceedings will therefore terminate shortly before this time. I would ask any, who of necessity must leave this meeting, about the time this broadcast terminates, to please do so quietly before the scheduled hour if possible.

Gentlemen, the affairs of the world, with which we are being confronted these days, particularly as presented in our newspapers, are such as to make the most confirmed or, shall we say, habitual optimist concerned over our future. The future of Canada is closely linked with the future of Europe and while this Club stands for a united Canada and the United Empire, there are many circumstances which would cause us, as members of this Club, to be also apprehensive of the future and of the soundness of the decisions which our public men as leaders must make. To assist in making such decisions, it is my opinion that a review of Canada's place in history is essential.

We have with us today, Dr. Norman Wentworth DeWitt, who is a scholar, a linguist and an historian. He is to address us on an important subject which should serve as a guide not only to the members of this Club but to the whole of Canada. I have much pleaure in introducing Dr. DeWitt who will speak on the subject: "Canada in World History."

Dr. DeWitt!

Dr. Norman Wentworth DeWitt: President Balfour, Guests and Members of the Empire Club: My subject today is the place of Canada in world history, both past and present. In order to bring this before you in a way that I think is true, I propose to you two principles which perhaps may seem somewhat novel. The first of these is this, that history, and more particularly world history, is the evolution of the unintended and that government is the administration of the unforeseen.

I think I can make this somewhat plain to you by a very simple example. Until the North Drive, connecting Queen's Park with Bloor Street, was widened recently, traffic-jams in front of the college were of almost daily occurrence. Now, no one wants a traffic-jam, but everyone contributes to it. No one is compelled to choose the route to his home through Queen's Park. He does it of his own free will, but those motorists who choose that route unwittingly produce a result which they do not want and which nobody wants. This is the evolution of the unintended. Similarly, what happens in the world at large is the product of a multitude of wills acting independently, but the joint result reflects the will of no one; it is unintended.

Let me give you another example of the working of this law on a somewhat larger scale. Take the recent depression. No one, of course, wanted the depression, but everyone in a small way or a large way contributed to it. There were few individuals. one may say, and no nations that did not contribute to the depression in some way. This was on a large scale a traffic-jam, an economic traffic-jam. The workmen contributed to it by purchasing beyond their means without due consideration for future necessities. The salesmen and the advertisers were to blame for it because they made goods so attractive that people were tempted to buy beyond their means. The manufacturers contributed to it because they produced goods in excess of the capacity of the market to absorb. The bankers contributed to it because they may have loaned money beyond the capacity of their clients to repay. Governments contributed to it by establishing quotas and tariffs against their neighbours and, not to leave out any class in the community, the ladies also had part in it, because just at a time when the world was surfeited with foodstuffs, they put on a continent-wide reducing campaign. (Laughter.) In fact the only class that I know of who did not contribute to that depression was the university professors. This is a supreme example of the evolution of the unintended.

I may give you another example that is interesting to people in Ontario, a small one, to remind you that this law works out beneficently, as well as disastrously; that it applies to good developments as well as evil developments. Some thirty years or so ago the Government undertook to build the Northern Ontario Railway. This proved to be the beginning of the exploitation of Ontario gold but it was not intended precisely that way. Moreover, the reason that so many Ottawa Valley men became pioneers in the gold-fields, and especially in the Porcupine District, was that the construction crews were largely recruited from the Ottawa Valley. Thus a great many of those people became rich in a way quite foreign to their expectations when they went to build a railway in Northern Ontario.

The supreme example of the evolution of the unintended, however, is the development of the British Empire itself. No one ever planned the British Empire. No one conceived it, not even a dreamer, let alone a statesman. It was the result of what thousands and tens of thousands of Britishers did without any individual intention on the part of one of them. If you consider the British possessions today and their history, you will find that in not a single one of them was there an imperial design in the beginning. The truth is that British Imperialism was the result of Empire and not the cause of it. The Empire developed first and Imperialsm developed afterward and it developed on the margins of the Empire before it developed at the centre. There were no men like Cecil Rhodes at any time among the statesmen of Great Britain. Cecil Rhodes belonged to the circumference of the Empire, not the centre.

So far from being planned, the Empire was actually, it seems, opposed at times. Take a very close example, Newfoundland. Do you know, for a century and more it was absolutely forbidden for any Britisher or anyone else to settle in Newfoundland, build a house or make a garden. Do you know why? Because the merchants of Bristol demanded a monopoly of the privilege of fitting out fishing vessels. In those days of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Great Britain was still exporting food and did not want the colonies to produce food.

Take another part of the Empire at random. Take South Africa. The British went there first, not through any imperialistic design at all but because of the only motive they knew at that time, the desire to protect British shipping. It was the Boards of Trade in the history of the Empire that developed the conscience of the British Navy. In South Africa the British founded Capetown for the sake of protecting the route to India, so that shipping on that route might have a safe base, both for supplies and for security against enemies and the weather.

Take Egypt. Great Britain had no interest in Egypt in and for itself. Her interest was in the route to India, and the possession of Egypt was a by-product of that interest. As a matter of fact, nearly all parts of the Empire were by-products, or incidentals.

Take Austalia, for example. You know the beginning of the British settlement in Australia. That arose from the American Revolution. Before the Revolution they used to ship their convicts to America. After the Revolution that market was closed, and in passing let me say a word for those convicts. There never was a class that less deserved the name. Those men were the result of social conditions in England, which in those times classed them as criminals. Their crime was nothing more than sheep-stealing as a rule; so the approbrium attached to the name in that day is to be minimized. Well, when the British Government was unable any more to send so-called convicts to America they sent them to Australia. Moreover that Continent was there, down to that time, for any European power to take possession of if it chose, but none chose to take it. The next step in the development of Australia was purely accidental also. Gold was discovered there in 1849 and '50, at the same time it was discovered in America, in California, and there was a great rush of population to Australia, not through any imperialistic design whatever. Men were after the precious metal.

Come to Canada. Canada is also a by-product. In the first place, so far as French Canada is concerned, it is a by-product of the Seven Year's War. The French, you know, had grand colonial designs, grand imperial designs in America. They conceived a magnificent project of connecting the Gulf of the St. Lawrence with the Gulf of Mexico by a chain of settlements. There never was a grander imperialistic design conceived than that. The British, of course, balked it, they stopped it. Through the capture of Quebec it was brought to nought, but the British had no alternative plan at all. If they had had an alternative plan the American Revolution might never have taken place. It was because of the attitude of laisser-faire, so far as political matters were concerned in the colonies, and also it was due to the exclusive attention to trade, because the only advice the British Government at that time was receiving of an urgent kind was from the Boards of Trade, that no alternative plan was projected, which might have given to history a different turn.

French Canada, then, was a mere incidental product of the Seven Years' War. Now, you know for a long time they sought the Northwest Passage. If there had been a Northwest passage and it had been discovered, then something might have been done about Canada. It might have been worth while for the British Empire to establish posts for its security and hold that route. Or, again, if the climate had been less forbidding they might have brought foreign labour here. If the climate had been more attractive we might have had a large negro population or a coolie population, because in those days they took negroes to all colonies where they had work for them. But that wasn't to be. Or, if the British had discovered gold in Ontario, assuming they were able at that time to work mines of the character we possess, it might have been very different, but they found nothing here that they wanted.

In those days, of course, the pioneer type of settler had not developed. Do you know, it required a hundred years in America, at least, and a lot of religious persecution to produce a pioneer. There is nothing much harder to change than human nature, human habits. Do you know how the pioneer type was developed? By religious persecution. The Puritans drove the Quakers out of Boston, compelled them to live in the woods, and they turned into pioneers. In the South, the Anglicans drove the Presbyterians out of Virginia and compelled them to live in the woods. So you find almost all the pioneer families in the Middle States, (I have lived in several of them) across Kentucky, Southern Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, are descendants of Presbyterians who were compelled to become pioneers through religious persecution.

To come back to Canada, it began as a by-product in which the Empire had very little interest. It continued as a by-product. The second stage reveals it as a by-product. The second stage reveals it as a by-product of the American Revolution. A certain section of the population, as you know, did not participate in the Revolution. They opposed it; they came to Canada, and a new Canada was founded here in great haste. A great many things in Canadian history have been done in haste. The Loyalist settlement was made in great haste as a result of an emergency.

You remember I told you that government is the administration of the unforeseen. History has very little approval for planned economies, and pehaps, if you ask a definition of the word statesman from the voice of history, it would be this, that he is one who wisely administers the emergencies that arise from time to time, because, if he handles each emergency wisely, he will find he has built well for the future. This is the word that resounds through British history in particular. There has been no great foresight in British history, but there has been extraordinary wisdom and common sense exhibited in handling emergencies as they arose. This is likewise true in the history of Canada.

The third respect in which Canada is a by-product is revealed in federation. Do you know why our government is of the shape that it is today? It is all because of the American Civil War. The history of Confederation as we find it in the books is only half-told. The documents are now at Ottawa but they haven't been there for so very many years. The truth is this. During the Civil War the upper classes in England sympathized with the Confederate States, and William Ewart Gladstone said on one occasion that Jefferson Davis had founded a nation. British noblemen even bought bonds of the Confederate States, which showed more faith. After the War was over the British Government felt very contrite, and the American nation was rather belligerent. You remember how it promptly ordered the French out of Mexico. It was taking steps to buy Alaska and there was even a prominent member of the Government who talked about annexation. The United States at that time possessed the best army in the world, the most seasoned soldiers and the best generals, and everyone knew it.

So the British Government in Downing Street, which I must say backs down gracefully at times, thought that under the circumstances it would be very wise for them to retire so far as possible fom the northern half of this continent, and this was quietly arranged. At that time John A. MacDonald and the Hon. George Brown were not on the best of terms, which was no exceptional circumstance. The British Government asked them to forget their personal differences for the time being, and just in case there might be some incidental expenses to pay, placed a credit of $50,000 with the President of the Grand Trunk Railway. It need hardly be mentioned, of course, that no men in the position of John A. MacDonald or the Hon. George Brown would have cared to handle this money, which was to be used where it would do the most good. Well, there were some elections in the Maritimes not long after that and they turned out as desired. The Charlottetown Conference was crashed, to use a students' term, and you know what happened after that. As soon as Confederation was consummated the Hudson's Bay Company's rule was brought to an end because this new plan was far more comprehensive and had to be carried out more thoroughly than any that had been projected down to this time.

With respect to Confederation itself, I wish to call your attention to two facts. There are two things that Canada has contributed to the Empire, or at least she has introduced one of them and contributed the other. Confederation has two aspects. One of these is the adoption of the federal form of Government. Now, federalism is not British. It is Anglo-Saxon, but not British. For example, when Wales was joined with England, it was not federated with England. At a later time Scotland was joined by an Act of Union, and Ireland for a century and more was joined to England and Scotland by an Act of Union, that is, so long as the United Kingdom of Great

Britain and Ireland lasted. Thus, federalism, you see, is not British, though it is Anglo-Saxon because it arose in an Anglo-Saxon country, the United States, after the Revolution. Through Canada it has become a British institution, and it is just as natural for the States of South Africa or of Australia to unite in a federal union as it was for the Provinces of Canada. So in that respect Canada has furnished a model to the Empire, and federalism, which was not British in the beginning, has by adoption become a British institution.

The second aspect of Confederation, and it is much more original than the first, illustrates amazingly my doctrine of the evolution of the unintended. I refer to Dominion Status.

You recall that after Confederation we had a long period of quiet in Canada. This was interrupted by the Northwest Rebellion because Confederation was very hastily put through, too hastily, and from an economic point of view, prematurely, because the Eastern Provinces still lacked the surplus of wealth and population necessary to exploit the prairies and build the railways. But, of course, as Mr. J. W. Dafoe has said, in Canada political forces and not economic forces have determined the shape and development of our institutions. However, there was a period of quiet. During this interval what we call Dominion Status was developed, but when the name 'Dominion' was selected in the first instance for this Confederation, it was chosen because it was an absolutely colourless word. It was the intention that the new Government should resemble that of the United States and that Great Britain should retire so far as possible from this Continent. Thus this world that they had chosen under novel circumstances gradually took on a new colour and eventually became capable of precise definition in a new sense, and this is much more important than the idea of federalism. Federalism, when it became British, was applicable only to countries like Australia and South Africa, comprised of several parts, but Dominion Status can be applied to any unit, no matter whether compound or simple, large or small. For example, Dominion Status has been applied to Ireland. It could be applied to Newfoundland, and for a time it seemed that this would be done. It applies equally well to India. It is the case of India that demonstrates better than other instances how a concept, developed here in Canada through no one's intention and no one's plan, has more profoundly than any other affected the shape of the British Empire as we know it. Without Dominion Status there would be no British Commonwealth of Nations today.

This brief analysis gives you the picture in outline. From the very first you may observe the evolution of the unintended. There has been no planning in the British Empire. The first Imperialism as such, as doctrine, did not emanate from London; it came from South Africa. A figure like Cecil Rhodes does not belong to the heart of the Empire; it belongs to the circumference. At the circumference of the Empire, in the outlying Dominion, the pride of Empire is apt to be very strong, but at the heart it is not pride but responsibility that weighs. There they feel chiefly their responsibility. We perhaps feel it less.

Turning to the present you find an entirely different picture. To place Canada in the world today you have to become acquainted with what is now called 'pressure politics.' We no longer have even in democratic countries a pure democracy. We have what students of the subject call 'pressure politics.' For example, at Washington you have the veterans' lobby, you have lobbies of financial men, you have lobbies of manufacturers, lobbies of the utilities, and all of these exert a pressure on the Government which is infinitely more urgent and more skilfully applied than the pressure that any constituency can exert upon the member who represents it.

It reminds me sometimes of the work of a colleague of mine when I was in an American university. He was hired by a firm of architects to study wind-pressure on buildings. He installed a pressure-gauge on every angle of the Physics Building, also on every side of it, and he connected all these to a board in his laboratory. There you could take your stand and watch a battery of tubes with coloured liquid in them, playing like an organ all the time. That is Government today. That is pressure politics. From time to time it wanes, of course. Sometimes democracy has a revival. It has had a great revival in the United States in the last presidential election and, incidentally, the radio is an agency that strengthens democracy and at the same time tends to counteract what we call pressure politics.

There is pressure politics not only in individual governments but also in the world at large. You know, the old-fashioned high-hat and gray-spat diplomacy is fading. It used to be that when a government had some particularly scalding message to deliver to another government, the Premier passed the word to the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State put on his high hat and his white gloves and his gray spats and drove over to the embassy concerned and delivered this scalding message, but it was in a thermos bottle. It was so wrapped up in politeness and formality that it didn't burn the fingers. It was transmitted in the same condition to the Home Government and the answer came back in a similar container, no matter how scalding. Perhaps the newspapers never heard of it. It was all under cover. That time is now past. Today, if the heads of certain countries in Europe have messages to deliver, they buckle on their swords and don their helmets and call together 30,000 people in a public square and roar their message into a microphone, and by a well-known law of physics, the pressure engendered there is exerted equally in all directions, so that it rises to the stratosphere and darts to the Eastern Hemisphere and the Western Hemisphere, and the citizens of every civilized country who have a radio and choose to listen have that speech in their ears before ever the newspapers receive a copy, before even the wires ever begin to click with it. Thus the radio has diminished the opportunity of scoops for newspapers. In the old days there was nothing more prized than a diplomatic scoop and, by the way, it has diminshed also the pleasure of life for court-circles, because in the same old days of gray-spat diplomacy there was no greater pleasure in life than possessing a diplomatic secret and not telling it.

Thus we now have, as in the weather map, also in politics, high-pressure and low-pressure areas and to understand the position of Canada today you must know those areas. The area of the highest pressure, though perhaps not the most dangerous, is Europe. There, every form of pressure either exists or is being played. For example, there is military pressure, exerted abundantly during the Ethiopian War in the Mediterranean. There is political pressure, there is economic pressure and there is a pretence of population pressure.

The second great area of high-pressure is in Asia and this, while not so obstreperous, is, perhaps, more dangerous, and, reaching from the one area of high-pressure to the other is Russia, which is a corridor across the two continents, touching both areas of high-pressure.

Lastly, corresponding to those, are two areas of extremely low pressure. One of these is the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States, the Anglo-Saxon world, in which not a single member maintains a soldier or a ship against any other member. (Applause.) The second great area of low-pressure is the Western Hemisphere. Mr. Roosevelt, the other day, whose message was very different from those we hear in the playgrounds of Europe, pleading for democracy and freedom and education and culture and high standards of living and interdependence, was speaking for this hemisphere. Here, from the Arctic to the Antarctic is an area of low-pressure, in which there is no dangerous quarrel, in which there is no difference that could not be settled by arbitration. These two great areas of low-pressure overlap and Canada is in both of them. (Hearty Applause.)

(Prior to Dr. DeWitt's address, Major Balfour had announced that a special announcement in connection with the crisis in Great Britain would come over the radio at 1.55 and would be heard by the Empire Club.)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I am going to call on Dr. Cody to express the thanks of this meeting to one of his own Professors.

Before doing so I would like to make an alteration in the announcement which I made at the opening of this meeting, namely, that the broadcast from England over short wave will commence at exactly two o'clock. This will give Dr. Cody exactly three and a half minutes in which to thank Professor DeWitt and he will, I think, earn a reputation for brevity of speech which possibly he has not previously held. (Applause.)

DR. H. J. CODY: That is a crown of glory not to be lightly held. I suppose if silence is golden and speech is silver, a short speech of three minutes would be bimetallic.

But, Gentlemen, in your name, may I offer your sincere thanks to Professor DeWitt for his admirable, suggestive and stimulating address this afternoon. (Applause.)

I have often though that the Clubs of Toronto might, much to their own profit, draw more than they usually do upon the professorial staff of our great University.

Some one said to a great theologian who is now in New York, Dr. James Moffatt, and who had been in Oxford, "Do you prefer New York to Oxford?" His answer was, "I think not, and for this reason: When I am engaged in the study of any particular theological or linguistic problem at Oxford, I have merely when in difficulty to put on my coat or hat and go around the corner and find some man who knows all about the subject there was to be known in the world. In New York, I am somewhat differently circumstanced," and I venture to say that the opinion is that your university professors are deliberately informed on many of these great problems of the day and are worth your hearing and will be constructive and helpful.

For this reason, I take very great pleasure in extending to Dr. DeWitt our profound thanks for his stimulating address today. And, yet, what he said about the unintended and the unexpected really throws us back, I humbly submit, on an over-ruling Providence that in some strange way seems to have chosen this British Empire and these English-speaking peoples, not for great privileges but for profound responsibility, and as members of this great common group, let us today more than ever realize the responsibility laid upon us for maintaining peace and goodwill in all the world. (Applause.)

President: As we are not to hear the broadcast from Ottawa before the broadcast from England comes through, that gives me two and a half minutes to thank Dr. Cody for his thanks of Prof. DeWitt. I have heard Dr. Cody on very many occasions but I think this earns for him a reputation which he has not previously enjoyed.

Seriously, we are very interested in what we are going to hear in a very short space of time by short wave from England. We have our own suspicions and we are afraid our suspicions are correct, but after the address we have heard today we should have some courage and faith in the ability of the British people and in the continuity of this British Empire which, as our guest-speaker, Dr. DeWitt said, was not planned, that we shall blunder through in some way. And, if I might usurp the function of Dr. Cody and others of his cloth, and just quote as little as I shall have time to repeat from Kipling's 'Recessional:' "The captains and the Kings depart! Lord God of Hosts be with us yet! Lest we forget, lest we forget."

Following a further announcement that the expected broadcast was not going to take place, the meeting adjourned.

CANADA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO THE MOTHERLAND

AN ADDRESS BY REVEREND BEVERLEY KETCHEN, B.A., D.D.

Thursday, 10*th December,* 1936

Immediately prior to the usual toast to The King, Major Balfour addressed the Club as follows:

Today is a momentous day in the history of the British Empire and in the history of the whole world.

When the sun rose on the heart of the British Empire this morning there was a King on the British throne whose democratic life and popularity has been without equal. Without revolt of his people against him, without pressure, but entirely from his own choice, a painful scene has been enacted in the formal abdication of the British throne by Edward VIII.

The consequent accession of the Duke of York to the throne continues the institution of the Monarchy, by which we owe our allegiance to the Crown.

To the new King we express our fealty and to the Royal Family and the Queen Mother, our sympathy.

"God Save the King" was sung, followed by the drinking of a toast to His Majesty.

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, the Empire Club are honoured today in the first public appearance of His Worship, Mayor-Elect Robbins. (Applause.) We are also honoured in having as other head table guests some of the Board of Control, some of the Aldermen, who recently have been elected to the Council of this City. We congratulate them on their recent victory and we also extend our heartfelt wish that they will serve the City in the manner they can to the best of their ability and integrity.

The Empire Club of Canada, by force of necessity, I may say, by geography, has a close association with the City of Toronto. The City of Toronto is the only city in North America with possibly one exception in the United States, where there is any organization with ideals or objects such as the Empire Club. We feel honoured in being in the fair City of Toronto for, (which from one who is a native of Toronto may seem like prejudice), it is the finest city in all of this world, and we might say, with slight alteration, as one of our literary characters said not long ago, "Toronto, with all thy faults, we love thee still."

We have as our guest-speaker today, Gentlemen, the Reverend Dr. Ketchen, Minister of MacNab Street Presbyterian Church in Hamilton. The fact that he has occupied that position, which in my youngest years I always considered the most exalted, for thirty-two years is enough to say with regard to his fitness to address an intelligent meeting such as this. Dr. Ketchen will address us today on a subject which is by virtue of recent news perhaps of greater import than it might ordinarily be.

When the analysis of individual's affairs are necessary, as international affairs should be analyzed today the Auditor's statement is one of the things which is asked for very early. The question of what Canada's debt may be is not a question entirely of dollars and cents. We have obligations which are not measured in that way and from the little I know of what our guest-speaker is going to say today, I think he is going to enlighten us somewhat on some of those obligations which we perhaps are not fully aware of now.

I have great pleasure in calling on Dr. Ketchen, who will address us on the subject: "Canada's Indebtness to the Motherland." Dr. Ketchen. (Applause.)

DR. BEVERLEY KETCHEN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: We are met today under peculiarly impressive circumstances, circumstances hitherto unknown and undreamed of in the history of this Club, circumstances which indicate more clearly than ever, I am sure; the high mission which an Empire Club has to fulfill and I think we shall show our British spirit best by just keeping steady and cool. (Applause.) All through these last few days of excitement and suspense I have felt perfectly sure that it would take far more than such an unexpected and almost incredible crisis to shake the solid structure of the Empire because British traditions and British institutions and British ideals mean more than any individual even though he be an almost idolized King. (Applause.) The spirit of the Motherland is undoubtedly sound and, by the way, I think that one of the finest and most reassuring things in connection with the whole affair has been the attitude of the Labour element in the Old Country. (Applause.) Unscrupulous opportunists have not been given much of a chance to capitalize the crisis. I had hoped almost up to the last minute that this might have been a kind of thanksgiving service today because we did love Edward and we built very high hopes on him. He had an unprecedented opportunity but since he has decided to put personal passion before duty and his people we must let him go with sorrow. We think he should have said, "I could love thee, Dear, so much, loved I not honour more." He should still have a place in our prayers, of course, because he still needs them, more than ever, but I am Calvinistic enough to believe that in the Providence of God some great good, as yet unforeseen, will come out of this unprecedented crisis and I think we shall show our faith in Providence and in the spirit of the Empire by just going on with our speech, like Browning's hero, who "never doubted clouds would break" and who held that "we are baffled only to fight better."

I think you will appreciate the fact that if ever a speaker had a difficult job it is now and I think I shall have to cut out some of the playful preliminaries.

A Scottish Minister, meeting one of the problematical members of his flock on the street one day said, "Well, Andrew, I was very pleased to see you at the prayer meeting on Wednesday night," but things did not look quite so hopeful when Andrew exclaimed with surprise, "O, that is where I was, was it?"

Well, unlike Andrew's, my surprise came beforehand when I received your invitation to be here and, Mr. Chairman, among the honours fighting for first place in any man's life, one must be the privilege of addressing an audience of such distinction and super-intelligence as the Empire Club of Toronto, an audience almost as awe-inspiring as the British House of Lords. As you know, I presume, I am substituting today, which is generally a precarious business, and while I have in my time substituted for all sorts of ordinary men, I have never before had the conspicuous and bewildering honour of doing so for a Premier of Quebec.

The cynical club wag suggests that as some of the cruder forms of torture have been outlawed by civilization the modern world has resorted to after-dinner speeches which are like the sands on the sea-shore for multitude. Really, one of the reassuring things in these chaotic and devastating days is the fortitude with which people endure them. It shows that the stout, adventurous spirit that built the Empire has not perished from the earth.

The subject that was given to me today is "Canada's Indebtedness to The Motherland" which is just a little more restrictive than I would have liked, a subject which, unfortunately, has been dragged into the realm of controversy. I can hardly be expected to deal with the subject like one skilled in the subleties of politics or economics and before such a politically heterogeneous company as this it would be obviously unwise to give the kind of speech that might make the spine tingle at a Conservative caucus or a Liberal rally.

I suppose that a more vivid imagination than mine might see in the subject some opportunity to dilate on the material greatness of Canada, arguing that our obligation to the Motherland must be commensurate with our national capacity and, of course, it would be a very easy thing to muster a glittering array of dazzling facts regarding the potential material wealth of Canada, to let the imagination play recklessly about our fabulous natural resources, to dip into the future with prophetic vision and picture Canada with a hundred million people, surrounded by mountains of wheat, or to place an almost incredible pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow. Undoubtedly we do owe it to the Motherland to make the most of these natural resources, to make Canada a very rich and powerful nation but your President has so carefully and shrewdly worded the subject that I think I must pass over that aspect of things today because, of course, the Motherland had nothing to do with our amazing endowment in natural resources. So I will have to take all one might say along that line as read. Like the old Scottish Minister who was reading one of those jaw-twisting, genealogical chapters of the Bible one Sunday. "Adam begat Seth, and Seth begat Enos, and Enos begat Caïnan," and so on, and when he had called a few more branches of the family tree he closed the Book, took off his spectacles and said, "And, so, my friends, they just begat one another until the end of the chapter."

I want you to look at the romance and the responsibility of Canadian citizenship or, shall I say, Imperial citizenship, from another viewpoint. I want you, in the first place, to think of Canada as a priceless heritage. It would be impertinent, of course, to dwell on the romantic history of Canada before such an intelligent company as this but perhaps you will permit me to say a word or two about the pioneers, those men and women whose obscure heroisms and achievements have never been acknowledged with the reverent gratitude which they deserve. General Gordon said once that the British Empire was made by her adventurers and I venture to say that among those adventurers few have been nobler than our own pioneers. At a dinner given here in Toronto a few years ago to celebrate the completion of that fine set of books on "The Makers of Canada" it was hinted that there should be a history of the unknown makers, the humble, sturdy, intrepid pioneers, the Scotch, English, Irish and Welsh adventurers, who came here when Canada was little more than a wilderness and amid difficulties and hardships that we can scarcely realize, laid the foundations for the Canada that we enjoy today. We could not intelligently consider our indebtedness to the Motherland without referring to them. Looking back on those pioneers what impresses us is their amazing faith and courage and industry, the fine, healthy simplicity of their lives, their plain living and high thinking, the splendid, solid, British foundations they laid for the future generations of Canadians to build upon. I think we ought to pause once in a while to ask ourselves whether we are building the kind of national structure for which those foundations were intended, whether the comforts and luxuries of modern life are not making us morally anaemic, whether in the feverish materialism and self-indulgence of our age we are not letting slip some of the splendid, hardy virtues and healthy ideals of the pioneers. I think that there might well be a Pioneers' Day in Canada. Once a year at least, we should say with the English poet,

"Come, let us drink in silence ere we part,
To every loyal and resolvent heart,
That gave the time its passion and its tears,
Renunciation and laborious years,
To lay the deep foundations of our race."

They, I am sure, suggest no inconsiderable part of our indebtedness to the Motherland.

We have inherited, not only a country inconceivably rich in possibilities of power, but also great traditions which we are honour bound to cherish and preserve.

It is said that when the Titanic went down, Captain Smith compressed all he had to say into two words. He had no time to make a speech. No speech was needed. "Be British," he said. That was enough. That meant that the women and children went into the life-boats first. It meant there was no hysterical panic. It meant chivalry and honour. Centuries of a great tradition went into those two words, "Be British." We must not let a great tradition like that go by the board. One can hardly imagine the words, "Be Italian," or "Be German," or "Be Russian," having any such chivalrous and honourable implications. But in Canada we can see to it that the words, "Be British" will never lose their thrilling, traditional significance.

Next to Providence, the Motherland has the greatest claim upon our gratitude and our loyalty, and sometimes we need to be reminded of it lest we forget. We must not let the flag float at half-mast in Canada and we must not let ignorant, fanatical radicals dishonour it. (Applause.) There are, unfortunately, Canadians of British stock who, in spite of our impressive British background, would let the Motherland bear all the brunt if she should be dragged into another war. We enjoy in Canada a multitude of blessings for which our British forbears struggled and died on many a blood-stained field. Indeed, if it had not been for British honour and the loyalty of the Dominions in the last Great War, what might not have been our fate? Yet we hear — well — thoughtless people asking, why should Canada become entangled in European squabbles? One thing we may be sure of, and that is, if the Motherland ever does become involved in another great international conflict, it will be through her unfailing and unflinching championship of things that are essential to the welfare of mankind. It will be because the Motherland still has the spirit that has ever thrilled us with pride and we would surely deserve the disgrace of degenerates if we failed to support her.

As the Editor of the *Hamilton Spectator* pointed out on Armistice Day, it is a consolation to reflect, as members of the British Empire, that the Motherland has done everything humanly possible to turn the thoughts of the nations into channels of sanity and that it is only because her wise idealism is too high for them that she now finds herself committed to the strongest policies of defence.

I say that we would be hopeless ingrates if we were to put our loyalty into cold storage if we did not frown upon everything that endangers Imperial attachment and fidelity. What would Canada be anyway outside the Empire? How ludicrously impotent she would be in her visionless isolation! Not for Britain's sake only and not for Canada's sake only, but for the world's sake, the integrity of the British Empire is of the most vital and fundamental importance for undoubtedly it is the greatest and most beneficen political achievement in the history of the world and, outside of the United States it is about the last remaining refuge of democracy in a world gone mad with lust of power. That refuge must not be weakened. In the years 1914 to 1918, thousands of our finest gave their lives for the Empire and its ideals and, to borrow the deathless words of Abraham Lincoln, "It is for us, the living, to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion, that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain."

The Empire must be built stronger and stronger for the world's sake and every Dominion must do its part in the building, that she shall remain forever powerful enough to protect the weak and to resist the oppressor, to disarm the violator of human liberty and to bring the peace and happiness that so many thousands gave their lives to secure, and to us, the inheritors of British traditions and British institutions, British ideals and, shall I say, British protection, the challenge lies in those immortal lines of John McCrae:

> To you, from falling hands we throw
> The Torch—be yours to hold it high.

Finally — I have an hour yet, anyway — (Laughter) finally, I think we owe it to the Motherland to make Canada great in the things that have made her great. The strength and prestige of the Empire must depend upon the strength and prestige of the constituent parts. Nothing, surely, could be more obvious than Herbert Spencer's dictum, that the character of the aggregate is determined by the character of the units.

From the standpoint of material resources there is perhaps no greater country in the world than Canada. What a destiny might be ours if we will only learn before it is too late to make this national wealth serve the high and noble ends of nationhood! But, lest we glory in these things above measure, it might be well to reflect that in the history of nations, material resources have been comparatively immaterial. Ancient Greece was not very rich in material resources, yet she made a unique contribution to the world's culture. Palestine was not very rich in material resources, yet she made a unique contribution to the world's religion. Scotland is a small country though, as a native once boasted, it would be as big as Engand if you flattened it 'oot.' Physically, however, Scotland is a small country with a gray sky and a grudging soil, too, for the most part, yet the contribution of Scotland to the intellectual and moral life of the world has been one of the miracles of history. (Applause.) Somehow, on a little oatmeal, Scotland has provided not only Prime Ministers and Archbishops for Westminster and a few outstanding Governors-General, but leaders in every department of human activity and enterprise . . . I see you take that for granted. (Laughter and applause.)

The greatness of England was never dug out of mines or harvested from broad fertile acres. The greatness of England has sprung from her Wellingtons and Nelsons, her John Brights and her William Wilberforces, her Shakespeares and Miltons, her Victorias and Florence Nightingales. That greatness has been achieved without any of these wild, erratic "isms" so feverishly advocated as panaceas today. (Applause.) The greatness of the Motherland lies in things unseen and eternal. It lies in the ever wonderful and altogether admirable spirit of the people and in some way I trust that Canada will become a truly great nation.

Harry Emerson Fosdick, addressing a New York audience recently, daringly launched out into a scathing denunciation of the American worship of bigness, big country, big cities, big buildings, big business and so on. He pointed out that the only thing that ultimately matters is what these big things do for the people and so our supreme concern in Canada must be the development of our human resources, the physical, social and moral welfare of the people. It is often said that we need more people in Canada. They will come in time no doubt, but our immediate business is to make more of the people we have.

I am sure we have not yet forgotten the epic chivalry of those draegermen in Nova Scotia, as they dug and cut through that stubborn, threatening rock to the two men imprisoned down there in the dark. (Applause.) When two of those men were interviewed here in Toronto by my friend, R. E. Knowles, they said that they would not have done what they did for all the gold in Nova Scotia and I could not help thinking of that great verse in the Bible which, I hope, is familiar to you: "I will make a man more precious than gold." Figuratively, we must go off the "gold standard," realizing with John Ruskin, that great political economist, that the true veins of wealth are not yellow but red, not in rock but in flesh, and that the end of civilization is not money but men. (Applause.)

Thomas Gray was right in his famous "Elegy:"

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart, once pregnant with celestial fire,
Hand that the rod of Empire might have swayed,
Or waked to ecstacy the living lire.

That is, you see, who knows what wonderful possibilities lie in the brains and the hearts of the common people? And to give these struggling, careworn, discouraged and distressed common people an outlook, both to the sea and to the stars, is the highest Imperialism. Surely the worthiest of all worthy ways to recognize and at least partially discharge our indebtedness to the Motherland is to make life a little simpler for those who are confused by it and happier for those who are tasting the bitterness of it and safer for those who are feeling its perils.

(Prolonged applause.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. Mayor, Gentlemen, may I express on your behalf our thanks to Dr. Ketchen for this reassuring address, so consistent with the principles and the motto of the Empire Club of Canada. His speech today has been more than that, it has been a most refreshing interlude in a day of days for the whole of the world.

If I may be permitted to refer to that circumstance again, may I say that your Executive have in mind the sending of a communication to the Prime Minister of the Mother of Parliaments for the part he has taken in the momentous affair. (Applause.) I take it, Gentlemen, you approve of this action and I shall follow your directions, accordingly.

This meeting, according to our present plans will be the last meeting until after the Christmas vacation and I wish to take this opportunity, an early one, of wishing you all a very Merry Christmas.

Following the address of Mr. Beverley Ketchen, December 10th. The communication referred to in the President's remarks, sent to the Hon. Stanley Baldwin, is as follows:

> "The Empire Club of Canada at meeting held today unanimously passed resolution commending your statesmanship in recent constitutional crisis."

to which reply was later received in the following words:

"PRIME MINISTER 10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.
16th December, 1936.

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has asked me to write and thank you for the cable which you were so good as to send him on the 11th December conveying the terms of a Resolution unanimously passed by the Empire Club of Canada.

It has been a source of great strength to Mr. Baldwin during the difficult days through which the Empire has been passing to feel that he has had the confidence and loyal support of so many of his fellow countrymen and of friends throughout the Empire.

Yours very truly,
"L. S. S. REED."

The President,
The Empire Club of Canada."

THE PROLONGATION OF LIFE

AN ADDRESS BY MORRIS FISHBIEN, M.D.

Thursday, 14*th January,* 1937

MR. HARCOURT: Sir Frederick (Banting,) and Gentlemen: For some months, as many of you know, I have lived in dread of the moment when our President, Major Balfour, would say, "You are to take the meeting of The Empire Club tomorrow." Unfortunately, and yet very fortunately, that moment arrived last evening when he was unexpectedly summoned to Montreal and was thereby deprived of the pleasure and honour of introducing our distinguished guest, a pleasure and honour which he had looked forward to and to which I fall heir.

At the head table we have as our guests, representatives of two classes of the community who work in the utmost harmony for the prolongation of life, the medical profession and the life insurance fraternity. Dr. Fishbein needs no introduction to them or to a large number of the guests and members here today. To the laymen his reputation is already established as a distinguished author and lecturer on the history of medicine. He is the Editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association but, above all, he is the friend and protector of the public. He is interested actively in so many institutions for the welfare and betterment of mankind that it is a distinct compliment to us that he has found time to be with us today. His subject, "The Prolongation of Life," is of great interest to us all. I have the honour to introduce Dr. Morris Fishbein. (Applause.)

DR. MORRIS FISHBEIN: Sir Frederick, Mr. Chairman and Members of The Empire Club of Canada: Since the earliest times human beings have been interested not only in the prolongation of life, but also in the idea of adding to their lives more functioning years than have been the common lot of mankind. In other words, we have been interested not only in living long but in having for the period of the life expectancy of man on this earth a considerable number of years in which we could be useful producers for civilization. As all of you know, Biblical legend assigns to mankind a possible three score years and ten, but it has only been in very recent times that the majority of human beings have begun to approximate this age. From 1825 to 1835, the life expectancy of man upon the earth approximated 33 to 35 years. Then, with the coming of Pasteur and the establishment of the germ causation of disease and the discovery of new methods of protection of mankind against mass infection; with the advancement in civilization that has occurred and the overcoming of many types of degenerative disorders, life expectancy at birth has greatly increased. Today, in every civilized nation of the world, life expectancy at birth approximates 59 to 60 years. At the same time, life expectancy after reaching 45 to 50 years of age has not appreciably increased. In 1890 the average man on the American Continent, having reached the age of 50 years had an additional life expectancy of approximately 20-2/10th years, and in 1935, a human being reaching the age of 50 years has, in the United States, a life expectancy of approximately 20 years, or 2/10ths of a year less than he had when he reached the age of 50 years in 1890.

Men have always sought some fountain of youth, some elixir that could be purchased in a bottle or some other method of rejuvenating their aged and outgrown tissues after they reached the period when decay and degeneration began. Out of an expectancy of 70 years we recognize 20 years of growth, approximately 30 years of maturity and 20 years of degenertion and decay. It has always been the hope of mankind to find some magical potion, which would turn the last years, the twenty years of degeneration and decay back into the kind of life he lived between the ages of 20 and 35. All sorts of methods were developed and attempted by various human beings to give man this new activity when he reached advanced years. Ponce de Leon sought the fountain of youth in Florida. He found something there that he thought was the fountain of youth. As he advanced in age he was eventually gathered to his fathers. Great numbers of Americans now seek the fountain of youth in the same section and find mostly hot dog stands. Perhaps they have a little speedier existence than they had before they went to Florida seeking a lost youth.

Then, after the time of Ponce de Leon, came the famous Brown-Sequard, who thought he had discoverd in the injection of certain glands a new method of rejuvenation. He ran happily up a flight of stairs and measured the time required for that performance. He then injected a "shot" of the glands and found he could run up the stairs faster than he had run before. However, he failed to account for what we call the "will to believe." Having injected himself with the gland and being convinced he could run upstairs faster than he had run before he put on a little extra effort and made a little better time. Then Brown-Sequard, like Ponce de Leon, having reached something a little beyond the age of fifty years, was also gathered to his fathers.

More recently, Steinach and Voronov, noted foreign investigators have also sought in the same glands, these glands so prominently associated with the idea of youth and virility, some hope of rejuvenating mankind after having reached advanced years.

As I go on in my talk I may have to cite certain figures and statistics. I know, as everyone else knows, statistics thrown into any after-luncheon audience are likely to lie there and suffer with the audience. It is not well to cite figures on a heavy meal.

I was recently visiting one of the food companies in Battle Creek, Michigan. One of the men was showing me around the factory where they were packing hay, straw and oats into packages for human consumption. He said, "Doctor, would you believe it? If everybody who eats this breakfast food each morning were placed side by side, they would reach two and a half times around the world." I didn't know what to say. I said, "What a pity!" That seems to have been the wrong answer. (Laughter.)

And I remember a school teacher, lecturing to her class one time in Pennsylvania. She was talking about Niagara Falls and she said, "Children, that great body of water pouring over the rocks is wearing away those rocks at the rate of one inch every hundred years. A little boy at the back of the room burst into tears. The teacher said, "What is the trouble?," and the little boy replied, "I have an aunt who lives in Erie." (Laughter.) I wanted to test that joke here in Toronto. It goes very badly in Kansas City. Out there they don't know where Erie is. Apparently some of you also are a little lame or weak in your American geography.

We have, as you all know, overcome many of the acute infectious diseases which used to seize upon mankind and carry away whole groups of the population. Back in the time of Edward Jenner the unusual person in any community was the one without the scars of smallpox on his face. Today, the unusual person in any civilized community is the one with the scars of smallpox and as he walks about with his scars he is a monument to his own ignorance or his parents' stupidity. Everyone knows today that it is quite possible for civilized man to stamp out the disease and that it is a duty in aid of his community.

The famous French philosopher, Charles Richet, described human beings as "homo stultissimus," or idiot man—having knowledge whereby they might stamp out human diseases, they nevertheless permitted many diseases to continue to prevail.

It is quite possible to stamp out diphtheria if we apply all the knowledge available regarding that disease. We know definitely the cause of the disease; we have tests whereby we can determine whether a human being is liable to take the disease if exposed to it; we have an antitoxin which is specific in the treatment of the disease and toxin-antitoxin or toxoid with which it is possible to inoculate children and thus establish a resistance against the disease. With all this information we should be able to stamp out diphteria entirely. A considerable number of communities in the United States can show years in which not one death from diphtheria has occurred in those communities. It should be possible for every civilized community to have such a record. But again and again, comes the fact that the human being is "homo stultissimus," and unwilling to avail himself of what medical science has to offer.

Typhoid fever is practically stamped out of the large centers of population. If we had in Chicago this year the amount of typhoid fever that we had in 1890 we would have had 60,000 cases of typhoid fever and 8,000 deaths from that disease. Instead, we had less than 100 cases of typhoid fever and, I believe, three deaths from that disease. Because of that fact many physicians were unable to send their children to college.

In 1890, in New York City, out of every 1000 babies born, 275 died before they were one year of age. Today, in New York City, or in any civilized community, the number of deaths out of every 1000 babies born is from 50 to 70. This is the control of infant mortality. Most of the gain in life expectancy we have achieved is represented by this control of infant mortality. The provision of pure water and pure milk; the understanding of the nature of the diseases that attack infants, our new knowledge of the proper way to feed babies which is, of course, at best, the old-fashioned way, have made it possible for us to make for most mothers the opportunity of having a healthful living child after passing through the travail which the woman undergoes during the child-bearing period. Knowing all this, we should be able to achieve, eventually, in all civilized countries such results as those achieved in New Zealand which has the lowest infant mortality rate that exists anywhere in the world.

We have controlled typhoid by eliminating infected water and infected food and by controlling the typhoid fever carriers. The control of the typhoid fever carrier is one of the most romantic illustrations in modern medicine's control of infectious diseases. It is interesting to repeat, "Typhoid Mary." "Typhoid Mary" was a woman who not only carried typhoid fever but who followed the occupation of cook. She was not only a cook in ordinary households but she achieved for herself a job as cook in the Sloan Hospital for Women and Children in New York City. Many of the people who came into the hospital had to suffer not only the disease for which they came but also typhoid fever which they got from "Typhoid Mary." After a while it was realized that "Typhoid Mary" was a menace to any community. For a good many years she has been confined on one of the islands in New York City devoted to the public interest. She lives at the expense of the state in comfortable circumstances, simply because she is too dangerous to have loose anywhere in the community.

There is another interesting woman in New York City, a woman who had four daughters. Each married a nice young man. Every one of them, as soon as the daughter married him, developed typhoid fever. The mother, herself, was a typhoid fever carrier. When they came to the home to visit their mother-in-law they found her a double menace. That was the most dangerous family, probably, in the world for a young man to marry into.

A most romantic story, as Dr. Alan Brown and Dr. Tisdale and some others can tell, is medicine's fight against rickets. Rickets is a modern disease. Before window glass was introduced into our civilization we had no trouble with rickets. Then window glass was introduced and it shut out the ultra-violet rays of the sun. Great tenements and buildings were erected for human beings to live in, instead of living out-of-doors. When all the ultra-violet rays were cut off, rickets began to appear as a condition that would attack every baby in the community. Steps were taken to overcome rickets. It was found that we were not only shutting off the rays of the sun by new methods of living but also by the building of great factories that were pouring smoke across the horizon. Thus were obliterated such rays of the sun as might have come through. Finally, when every child in the community was affected with some rickets, ways to overcome rickets were looked for. It was found that the shortage of ultra-violet rays was contributing to the constant development of rickets in children.,What steps did modern civilization take to overcome the evil? Modern civilization didn't go at once to getting the sun back on children. It looked for an artificial way of getting the ultra-violet rays of the sun on the children. Sun lamps, such as quartz mercury vapor and carbon arc ultra-violet ray machines were sold with the idea of putting artificial sunlight in the home. Many mothers put their babies outdoors to get what they thought was the ultra-violet rays of the sun. We discovered that there are only enough ultra-violet rays through two hours a day, three months of the year, to be of any real use in preventing rickets. Then we looked about to see in what other way we could obtain vitamin D. Scientists rediscovered cod liver oil, a very interesting substance, which is of very real importance to medicine.

In 1803 Thomas Percival wrote an interesting essay on cod liver oil. Then when we learned about calories we discarded cod liver oil as a too expensive fat. Then in 1910 we found out about vitamins and we brought back cod liver oil, and we began to realize its full value. Many times the experience of mankind will teach that what science may indicate is not really fact. We brought back cod liver oil. However, even the smartest and kindest baby may revolt against cod liver oil. If the baby doesn't, the mother may. This created the proposition of getting cod liver oil in a finer form. We looked for other ways and we found that the active principle in cod liver oil was viosterol. Cod liver oil tablets were made and the babies ate the candy tablets.

It was found possible to get vitamin D in foods by irradiating foods. Then they looked for ways to get ultra-violet rays in something else and they found that Farina is among the first solid foods fed to infants. But no one knew how much vitamin D to put in farina so they put in just a little. Then a baby specialist sat down with a pencil and a paper and found that if you wanted to give enough of vitamin D in farina to be equivalent to three teaspoonsful of cod liver oil daily, you would have to give four and a half pounds a day. That was too much farina. It was half as much as the baby weighed to start with, and you can't get that much farina into a baby.

Now, we are putting Vitamin D in the babies' natural food, in milk. There is the great problem of how much to put in milk and how to put it in. Commerce became interested in the problem of getting Vitamin D in milk. There are many ways of getting Vitamin D in milk. You can irradiate milk or add rosterol to it. You can feed a cow irradiated yeast and it will give Vitamin D milk. You can shave the cow and expose it to ultra-violet rays, and thus obtain irradiated milk. That's a difficult and round-about process. All of these methods have certain values. They represent how science goes back. We trace the history of each development; we first develop a new disease and later discover methods to control it.

Diseases are continually changing; mankind is continually changing. The diseases that carry off human beings are no longer chiefly the acute infectious diseases. These are largely under control. Today, the diseases of middle life, or the degenerative disorders, carry off most of mankind.

It is interesting to study the changes that have taken place in the causes of death as they have developed from time to time. The insurance actuaries are much more interested in the matter of when you die than you are yourself. With you it is a casual matter; with them it is a matter of dollars and cents. They want to know when you are going to die with a reasonable degree of certainty. With you, it is a matter of a little disturbance in the family circle—we shall miss your kindly voice, and so forth.

Most intersting is the way in which our civilization introduces new causes of death with which formerly we did not have to concern ourselves. For instance, the automobile does not appear in the list of the causes of death in 1900. Today, along with deaths from diabetes, it is about tenth in the list of causes. The motor car has become a regular part of our daily lives. With the coming of the motor car there are just two classes of the population left, the quick and the dead. (Laughter.) We have about 38,000 deaths a year in the United States, and approximately 2,000,000 people injured by motor cars.

Back in 1890, tuberculosis led all of the causes of death with a rate of 202 for each 100,000 people in the population. Today, the rate for tuberculosis has been cut down to approximately 60 to 70 in practically every civilized community. The rate for tuberculosis has been cut down, not by any particularly great scientific discovery in relationship to tuberculosis, but by a few simple facts. Physicians discovered the cause of the disease, the great importance of rest to the tuberculous lung in enabling it to recover from the disease; that each case of tuberculosis that occurs in a child is probably transmitted, either through infected milk, causing mainly tuberculosis of the bones or joints, or by an older person with whom the child lives, the older person having tuberculosis.

Pneumonia used to carry off the next largest number. That was 180 for each 100,000 people. We have not gone a great way in overcoming the pneumonia death rate. It still appears high in the list of the causes of death, but it has been overcome to such an extent that the rate today represents a little less than half what the rate used to be back in 1900.

We have almost completely controlled the deaths of infants that used to result from infected milk and the wrong handling of children, conveying to them the diseases that largely concern adults.

Another form of disease now rises high in all lists, that is heart disease. Today heart disease leads all others in the list of causes of death. There are various reasons for the increase in the number of deaths from heart disease. In the first place, heart disease represents the wearing out of that organ. The heart begins to work before the child is born and it goes on working continually until the time when it stops and the human being dies. There is only one way in which you can really rest your heart, that is to discontinue all muscular activity and lie absolutely flat on your back. In such circumstances, your heart will slow down somewhat in its rate and the amount of work it is compelled to do. But it is quite impossible to stop the heart entirely and rest it as you would a muscle in some other portion of the human body, including for example, the muscles of the gastro-intestinal tract. It is not at all surprising that in an era when we have greatly speeded up human activity and when the strain and stress on all of us is far greater than in any period of civilization, that the list of deaths from heart disease should quite definitely rise. Incidentally, the nature of deaths from heart disease has changed also in this period. Whereas in 1900, children and young adults were not largely affected by heart diseases of the type represented by angina pectoris and coronary thrombosis, if you read the newspapers and watch the histories of great men you will see that these diseases are carrying off one great man after another, one leader after another. They are beginning to be called the disease of the great, the disease of the statesman, the disease of the leader. Coronary thrombosis carried off Senator Walsh, it carried off President Coolidge, it has carried off one great leader after another. When we come to advise men how to dodge coronary thrombosis, you will be interested to know that recent research shows two methods to dodge this heart disease. One is to do less work and under a lighter strain and to take, perhaps, two vacations a year instead of one. In addition, shorten the working days and thus put less work on the heart than formerly.

Another interesting piece of work was developed by a group of doctors in Boston. They found that by taking small doses of alcohol, as represented by cocktails and highballs, a considerable amount of strain had been removed from the mind. In that way a man was relieved from some of the stress under which he formerly labored. This is a method of preventive medicine that should not be indulged in to excess. If you have started to prevent coronary thrombosis in that manner, prevent it in a small way. Do not try to prevent all of your coronary thrombosis in one evening. The end result of that is likely to be a little different from what you anticipated.

Most prominent cause of death after heart disease is that mence of all mankind known as cancer. As men tend to grow older and live longer lives, they think increasingly of cancer. Cancer is a disease that affects primarily the aged. More than ninety per cent of the cases of cancer occur in human beings past forty-five years of age. The more human beings we continue to keep among us so they will pass the age of fifty years, more and more is the death rate from cancer likely to increase unless, sooner or later, we discover some specific method for preventing cancer or some new method for its treatment or control which will abolish the disease from among mankind all over the world. As most of you no doubt know, men are busy in research laboratories, endeavouring to find a specific cause for cancer and endeavouring to find at the same time the specific method for treatment. And, at the same time while scientists are working in research laboratories in an endeavour to find a specific cause and a specific treatment of the disease, charlatans all over the world, who know how human beings fear cancer, promote new cures and methods of unestablished value, from which they line their own purses. Of all the ghouls feeding on the bodies of the dead and dying, the cancer quack is the most heartless and the most malicious. He takes from people who are confronted intimately with the fear of death the money with which they would be able to purchase a reasonable amount of freedom from pain during the period when they are quite certain to have, for a year or perhaps two or three years, a great deal of suffering. Then, we have among our other causes of death, as you all know, coming quite prominently to the surface and rising more and more during recent years, the diseases of the kidneys and of the blood vessels, like high blood pressure and the condition known as diabetes mellitus. Here we find it necessary to emphasize, for the human being is quite frequently "homo stultissimus," that science has given methods of control over diabetes and diseases of the kidneys. All that it is necessary for the intelligent human being to do is to take advantage of the method. He must find at the earliest moment that he is likely to have one of these diseases and then to take the necessary steps for prevention. Scientific medicine offers to all the people of the world a simple method, known as periodic physical examination. Human beings have not only bodies but also various secretions and excretions which should be examined to reveal the very earliest evidence of disease of the kidneys and of diabetes. If human beings were examined at regular intervals, science could be assisted in its task to do a great deal of good. The scientists went further than that and made a great concession to human beings. They became sentimental and suggested that the periodical examinations be made on our birthdays. The idea didn't quite catch on. Apparently big business men are too busy on their birthdays even to remember them. It remained for the insurance companies to remind men of their birthdays and to have this examination looked after. To the insurance companies finding little disorders in the excretions and secretions is a serious matter. They have bet so much that you will live longer than you think you will and they want to win. You don't seem to care whether you do or not.

We recognize today other diseases, exceedingly common among mankind, that do not carry off great numbers of human beings but still are a menace. The two leading causes of disability are influenza—the diseases of the respiratory organs, affecting the nose and throat and lungs—and then rheumatism. I mention them at this time merely to remind you that when we come to consider the ways in which quackery has invaded the medical field, we find that the greatest invasion by quackery has taken place in the less severe type of disease. Most times the patient gets rid of a cold in from three to five days. He begins to feel better after taking the new remedy and he gives the remedy or the quack, the credit for the benefit or the improvement he has sustained. You find your newspapers and magazines full of remedies for a cold. Since the time of Hippocrates, the common cold has been recognized as a self-limiting disease.

In the case of rheumatism, there are hundreds if not thousands of remedies. Probably in the days to come we shall still have hundreds if not thousands of remedies, until some specific cause for rheumatism is discovered and it is treated according to the specific cause. Today, rheumatism is treated by electric pads, by electric lights, by people pulling your legs, stretching your arms and jerking your feet. All sorts of peculiar people are willing to give anything they may happen to have available for the treatment of your rheumatism, and persuade you to give them a little of something to enable them to rejuvenate themselves in Florida.

What in general can you do to prolong your lives? Human beings are beginning to add more weight in relation to their height and years than human beings used to weigh. As insurance companies looked over statistics they suddenly began worrying about overweight. They say that overweight after middle life is the most serious thing they find in relation to the onset of degenerative conditions, the onset of heart diseases, diseases of the blood vessels and high blood pressure. It was put more simply by a old farmer in Indiana who said, "Pigs would live a lot longer if they didn't make hogs of themselves." It takes longer to state the scientific evidence of the life insurance company that out of 15,000 men who died of degenerative diseases most were overweight. That kind of figure does not click wtih you like the warning of the Indiana farmer.

Overweight after middle life is a serious thing. It is interesting to see why it is we have become overweight. I relate it quite definitely to the coming of the machine age. Motor cars came in and elevators. Walking became a lost art. Ditch digging machinery was invented and two men could do the work fifty men did formerly. The need for calories disappeared but the consumption of calories went on. Throughout the world men and women began developing large masses of flesh in places where it was most unsightly.

There has been a gradual reduction in the amount of caloric intake in human beings in the United States. We are, on an average, consuming a thousand less calories per person per day than used to be consumed in 1900. That is the way economics, medicine and business tie themselves together.

Besides being examined regularly in order to determine the onset of diseases at the earliest possible moment, what should we do for hygiene and personal care. In addition to having a certain amount of rest and recreation and a certain amount of cutting down of diet, what shall we do? I ought to mention, as all good mental hygienists do nowadays, the avoidance of worry. Worry invariably reflects itself on the human being in an unfavourable manner. It is a well established fact, as Sir Frederick will agree, that whenever the stock market falls, the number of cases of diabetes increases. Men rush into doctors' offices carrying little packages. It is significant as showing definitely the relation of worry to the onset of degenerative and disabling disease.

In addition to avoidance of worry, what next? All would like to be rejuvenated. I am sorry to say scientific method does not know today any way human beings can be rejuvenated and reactivated as they get older and as they pass the maturity of their middle years. All we can say is that the average human being should try to live out his declining years with the greatest amount of usefulness he can.

For that particular period the dentists have done a great deal by giving sound sets of teeth that you may carry with you to your grave—unless somebody wants to inherit the teeth. They can be taken out without much trouble. No one has been able to give a full set of intestinal works to come up to those teeth.

You will want to know about tea and coffee and tobacco and alcohol. Scientific medicine will tell you that there is not the slightest evidence that tea, coffee, tobacco or alcohol, taken in moderation, ever appreciably shortened any normal man's life. There is the possibility that all of these things may be taken to excess. Away back in the Middle Ages, in the school of Salerno, the greatest advice given was to practice moderation in all things. It is hard to be moderate nowadays when there is the constant urge of modern advertising to do everything to excess. In 1915, in the United States, we used seven billion cigars a years and ten billion cigarettes. In 1935, in the United States, we used six billion cigars, but we used one hundred and forty-five billion cigarettes, instead of ten billion cigarettes. That advance in our civilization, if you care to think it is that, was no doubt due to what modern advertising has done in the development of that peculiar, and for many people, pleasant vice.

There is still one great rejuvenation quack among us. I believe he annoys you here more than he annoys us. He interferes, I believe, with your wave length. We thought we had rid ourselves of that greatest rejuvenation quack of all time when Brinkley, the apotheosis of American quacks, was asked to depart from his radio station in Kansas. But he went to Mexico! He transferred his transplanting of goat gland activities in the United States as a whole to the little spot in Texas known as Del Rio, on this side of the Mexican border. He transplants the glands of goats, no doubt because of the credit assigned to the activity of the great god, Pan, in pursuing nymphs in ancient mythology. There is not the slightest scientific evidence that the transplantation of these glands will give any more than the thought in the mind of man that he has improved himself beyond what it was he had before. (Prolonged applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HARCOURT: The greatest tribute a speaker can have, I think, is not the remarks of the Chairman but the attention and interest manifested by his audience. You, Sir, observed that rapt attention and interest. We shall long remember your interesting and instructive and humorous address and we hope your visit with us has been a pleasant one. On behalf of the Empire Club and the great unseen audience listening in, I express our great appreciation and grateful thanks to you. The meeting is adjourned.

MASTERS OF OUR FATE

AN ADDRESS BY SIR GERALD CAMPBELL, K.C.M.G., LL.D., BRITISH CONSUL-GENERAL, NEW YORK.

Friday, 22nd January, 1937

PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen: We are honoured today by the official visit of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, Colonel Bruce. (Applause.) Colonel Bruce is the representative of the Monarchy in the Province of Ontario. He is the person present who is representing the British Throne in Ontario. In the light of past events, I might say with great respect, that the Throne is bigger than the individual. I am going to ask Colonel Bruce to say a few words to us today. I would like you to give him your welcome accordingly. (Applause.)

HIS HONOUR, COLONEL BRUCE: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen. I was not aware until a moment ago that I was here officially today. The Club has been very kind to me in inviting me to many of its functions, where I have the opportunity of hearing distinguished speakers on various subjects and where I learn a great deal. I am very happy that they have extended this privilege to me today, so I will be able to learn what Sir Gerald Campbell is going to tell us in a few moments about the future of the British Empire. I had the great pleasure of meeting Sir Gerald a few months ago when the new British ship, the *Queen Mary,* made its first visit to New York, when my wife and I had the privilege of dining on board. I can speak for you all a very interesting and pleasant half hour when you have the opportunity of hearing from Sir Gerald whom I am sure we welcome most heartily here today.

I thank you for this opportunity of returning thanks for the very many kindnesses of the Empire Club to me, personally. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Thank you, very much, Colonel Bruce.

We have the great privilege today of having with us not only His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, His Majesty's representative in the Province of Ontario, but we have also His Majesty's Consul-General and representative in New York, in the person of Sir Gerald Campbell. I might say, without flattering New York or boasting about Ontario, that I think we have the two most important representatives of the Sovereign on this Continent.

We welcome you, Your Honour, and we welcome you, Sir Gerald. We welcome all our guests today, more particularly those of the Convention of the Wawanesa Mutual Insurance Company, whose courtesy made it possible for us to have this large banqueting hall today.

Sir Gerald Campbell is today our guest-speaker, he needs very little introduction. His service for the British Empire in the Diplomatic Corps has been world-wide. You all know he has acted in this capacity in many parts of this world, more recently in the United States, but before then, in the Congo, in Ethiopia and many other places which few of us have the opportunity to know very much about. Sir Gerald will address us today on the subject: "Master of our Fates." I am sure he will tell something of interest to us all and perhaps more particularly to those of us who believe in the integrity and future of the British Empire. Sir Gerald Campbell!

(Loud Applause.)

SIR GERALD CAMPRELL: Your Honour, Mr. President, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: If any of you are especially interested in thoroughbreds you had better let me out or go away yourselves because I have got to confess I am a mongrel. I am Scotch, born in England, living in the United States, and I have come here for twenty-four hours or less, just to tell you something about the Union Jack and I am not sure but that you would be better able to tell me what the Union Jack stands for; however, here I am and I don't have many opportunities of talking to 'my ain folk.' I spoke once in London in a public meeting and I was called to order three times, so I have never spoken there again.

The President has referred to my having been in the Congo. When I was in the Congo I used to lie on my back sometimes, looking at the Southern Cross, which I found rather disappointing, and either thinking over or inventing stories to tell my family when I got home and when I got home I would start telling them, but sure enough some member of the family would run in to say that the charwoman had got red garters instead of blue, and I would stop describing my hair-breadth escape from a leopard, and we would start talking about the charwoman, or scrub woman, as she is called in the United States. That is one difference between the Americans and us. We call them charwomen, in the United States they are called scrub women.

I don't think that there are many differences between us. Last winter I was addressing a Club in New York and there were a lot of people there; they were all very nice and attentive except one who every moment kept getting up and interrupting and was continually being pulled down by his coat-tails. He had been down below before dinner where there was a bar with a piece of railing at the bottom where you put your foot. I think that is the origin of the term 'club foot.' He kept on getting up on both feet, both club, and interrupting what I was trying to say, and I was saying to the Almighty: "O, God, do take me away from this terrible country. I hate America. And please forgive all my sins for which You are keeping me here. I didn't mean to ask that Aunt Bessie's child might be born with a hare-lip. Please make me a good boy and let me go home again. Amen." And when I had finished my speech, this man lurched up to the head-table and said, "Shake hands with a fellow-Britisher."

I talk thus lightly about small differences but as a matter of fact there is a large difference between us and I think we ought to be very thankful that there is because the world would be very dull if we were all the same, especially those who talk the same language, more or less. I often see that visitors from Great Britain get into trouble when they come to America because they don't realize that the Americans are different from them and then, when they find they are, they begin to criticize them and the Americans naturally don't like being criticized. They like to criticize themselves, they don't like being criticized by other people. In that they are just the same as we are.

Then, also, I think both sides make a mistake in that A will interpret what B is doing, according to his own traditions and upbringing and temperament and so we don't quite always get the right hang of what the other side is doing, with the result that we don't agree with what the other side is doing and that is probably one reason why we don't quite understand each other yet and why we haven't quite got together yet, although both sides keep on saying we ought to get together, especially in these critical times.

It is only a week or two ago that your new Minister in Washington came to New York to a Pilgrims' Banquet, where Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of the Pilgrims, spoke of the critical times and interpreted them as being a time of war between ideas and ideals, between despotism and liberty, and I gathered that he implied very clearly that those who vote for liberty should stand together in these days like a rock in the sweep of every wind and in the wash of every sea. That would be logical but I think logic has been put in the waste-paper basket with sanctity of treaties and we can't find it any more for, if there is any logic, it is somewhat of the surrealist type. I don't know whether you in Canada have yet had the doubtful pleasure of seeing a surrealist exhibition. We have just had one and whereas in the old days when you bought a picture you knew more or less what it was about, although it might be a cabbage or it might be a hat, depending on the face underneath, but these surrealists go far beyond anything we have imagined. They take a piece of chewing gum and put it on the left chest of a flat-footed platypus, which turns out to be the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, surmounted by the wisdom tooth of a Wisconsin garbage man's unborn child. If it happens to be in New York, the title probably is "Removing Trolley Rails from Madison Avenue."

Now, if I could just sum up the present situation in the world in the same surrealistic logical terms, it comes to something like this: That nations are creating a machinery of defence which other nations say is apt to destroy the chances of peace, so those other nations also create a machinery of defence because they don't trust the other people that that machinery is only for defence but they hope the other people will think their machinery is only for defence and the other people say, 'If you do that we must have more children and therefore we must have colonies for excess population and for raw materials, because if we don't get the raw materials which we want for our machinery of defence, then we have to fight you with our machinery of defence to get those raw materials.' (Laughter.) I don't know whether you got that.

It is an interesting fact that a little time ago the Carnegie Endowment and the International Chamber of Commerce drew up a very interesting and very researchful report on the question of colonies and raw materials and that report has been black-listed in one of the countries which talks so much about colonies and raw materials. They are not allowing their people to read it.

Well, I don't want to be pessimistic or to buy you a drink mixed with the waters of Babylon and to ask you to weep when it won't sit. A French writer said a year or two ago, 'our epoch is not particularly gay but it is passionately interesting. It is not a heap of ruins but it is a building-yard in which, to the sound of saws and trowels and hammers, a new world is being erected,' and to that we ought to add also the pens and the heads under study lamps which are musing, searching and evolving new notions, though I hope those pens and those head will not go too far because if they do, we humble beings cannot always follow or understand them. There is a London Professor who has just complained that in his opinion intellectuals are something like showmen who are planning a circus turn in which elephants fly in formation and they are so keen about the formation that they quite forget the capacity of elephants for aviation.

This is only in parenthesis: I don't know whether any of you saw the advertisement in the London *Times*—I am surprised at the London *Times* — in which Lord Berners offers for sale two elephants and a young rhinoceros. The young rhinoceros is house-trained.

Well, I wonder what is the question we are asking of ourselves today. I know some of you and I know most of me is just a bewildered child, trying to find on what to concentrate, wanting some direction in which to go. All I hear is people, talking and talking, like I am, to beat the band, and not telling me in the least where to go. In fact, the jungle is very full of words, to quote Kipling, which sound like one thing and mean another. But I do think the undergrowth of the jungle is possibly getting thinner and if you read speeches being made over on the other side of the Atlantic, you will find it has now got down to the simple issue of butter versus guns. Some people prefer guns and, as I hinted, they want their women to bear as many children as possible so long as the children are all sons, who will fit a shirt and become soldiers later on. Other people prefer butter and do not mind whether their women bear children or not so long as the ones they do bear are good. I would like to remind the former of a remark made by Field Marshall Robertson, after the war, when he said, three bombardments—and we know three bombardments form a very small part of the total number — three mere bombardments cost $260,000,000. And what couldn't you or I do with one hundredth of that amount?

I do think the year 1937 is going to be a very crucial year. I think perhaps before it is over we shall know which way the world is really trending but don't let us just be hasty and blame conditions. "Men, at some time are masters of their fate; the fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves," and ourselves, I take to mean the more or less human beings who create conditions and must abide by those conditions which they create.

You see, we were given various things when we were born. Take the invention of the wheel, for instance. The wheel is supposed to be probably one of the most important inventions there ever was. In the old days it helped the husbandman to till the soil and if he had a willing nag it also helped him to get home to his wife and the kids and a clean shirt, if he wanted one. Probably he only wanted food and the wife probably wondered why he was called a husbandman. Nowadays, under our intoxication of speed we are using the wheel chiefly to destroy other human beings. My famous namesake, Sir Malcolm Campbell, said when he was going a mile in the quickest time on record it took him seven miles to get up his speed and seven miles to stop the car after the speed had been attained. I don't know why he came all the way to New York to tell us that. The taxi drivers are doing it all the time. (Laughter.)

Then, another great invention was the printing press. It gave us the Bible, it gave us Shakespeare, it gave us very many good things, but nowadays it is giving us magazine writers who also have a wife and some kids and who want a clean shirt and a 'coupla' dimes to spend (spelled c-o-u-p-l-a) and they write all sorts of things about things they don't know at all and I suppose they hope their readers don't know anything about them, and that their readers will have a 'coupla' drinks before they read them.

Also, we have got the radio. The radio ought to bring us nearer together. It does bring us nearer together but, unfortunately, it keeps us apart also and it amplifies the creakings and the groanings which always went on but which now we hear so clearly, and we don't like the people who creak and groan; and as for those voices over the radio, I think if Joan of Arc had heard them she would have strangled herself at birth. (Laughter.)

Both the printing press and the radio have brought us into this area of publicity. I remember when, referring again to the Congo, the Governor-General came to where I was stationed. I called on him and I didn't know whether he would return the call in uniform or not. If he were in uniform, naturally I wanted to put mine on; if necessary, and not if not necessary, because we were on the equator and uniforms are very hot. I sent one of my boys right to the end of the road where the Governor-General was staying and I said, "If the big white man comes out with a big knife on his side and something funny on his shoulder, tap your shoulder, and another boy will tap his, and then the next boy will tap his, and the boy at the gate will come and tell me and I shall know what clothes to put on." I waited an awful long time and finally the first boy returned, all out of breath, and I said, "What are you out of breath for?" He said, "The big white man has nothing on. He is washing his face."

That is about the way we are today. We can hardly get into bed without somebody poking a camera through the window and taking pictures of us. Personally, I don't think it is very pleasant. I would like to get into bed just as I am. Then, the result of all this publicity is that people—I am not blaming magazine writers especially—a lot of people are pulling up the roots of plants in order to see how the roots are going on and plants don't like roots being pulled up in order to see how things are going on; and I think one of the roots that is pulled up and it doesn't want to be pulled up is this particular root of the British Empire. Once the root has been pulled up then these Kleig lights are turned on it and limelight is not good for roots that want to stay in the ground. The result is we are getting a lot of criticism, both within and without the Empire. I don't in the least mind the criticism within the Empire, I only hope it is constructive for constructive criticism is good for the health and the welfare of any one or any institution. But I see, of course, the criticism that comes from without the Empire and I am not sure whether the mentality of the present day doesn't tend to make that criticism destructive, for the simple reason we have got to the stage of life now where when, if we buy an automobile we run it for 2,000 miles and then turn it in and buy another automobile, and we are getting disrespect for old friends. If you have an automobile that is an old friend you tinker with it, you take it to pieces, you leave out a part or you put a part in in the wrong place, but that old friend is always patient and it goes on working, in spite of whatever you do to it.

In New York and in America, generally, there is absolutely nothing I can talk about nowadays. Everything is so delicate or so dangerous that I just can't talk about anything so I talk about something, which is the British Empire, and I find Americans extraordinarly kind when I talk about the British Empire; at least they listen. They may go away making remarks which I don't hear, but they are very kind and they seem interested in the British Empire, and I believe it is not as a result of anything I have done or said, it is a result of the Empire itself and the way it is standing the test of time. I believe Americans, as a whole, are thinking more highly of it than they ever did before. (Applause.)

Of course, all of you know that America was once, or as we call it in America, the United States was once part of the British Empire. She decided to cut herself off from it and had a War of Independence which was won on the playing fields of Harvard. After that and for very many years, I think, the Empire was regarded as something rather sinister and some people are left who still regard the Empire as something rather sinister.

Not long ago at a large meeting which was addressed by a prominent Englishman, an American was asked to return thanks to him. I don't think he returned thanks in a very nice way. He got up and he said he had listened to the speaker with much interest but he wished to remind his audience that British idealism is always tainted with self interest, suggestive of British Imperailism. The entire audience, which was half asleep all the way through the speech of the distinguished Englishman, woke up and applauded and applauded and held their hands ready to applaud again whatever this man said. I began to get a little worried about it. It seemed to me at first that people don't think so much about idealism. I don't think so much of it nowadays myself. It is a kind of catch-word, like 'civilization' which seems to be just a generic term to cover a multitude of sins, and all it amounts to is plumbing and birth control and the Book-of-the-Month Club. It is evidently just a veneer, and when you scratch veneer you find there is very little underneath, as we found when things began to happen in Spain. But British Imperialism worried me a little bit more because it seemed to be a slogan which had a stigma.

The following story doesn't refer to it much at first; it does in the end. One very beautiful New Year's Day, I might have been playing golf, because it was New Year's Day which is a holiday in the United States, but I had to stand for an hour and half in a quiet stall in the cathedral of St. John the Divine, over the dead body of an Armenian Bishop, and as there was no cover on the coffin I saw quite a lot of him. That Armenian Bishop was a naturalized British subject, who had lived in Great Britain quite a long time before he came to the United States, and in the United States he was very worried indeed, because the Armenians had divided themselves into two sections and each section had a different flag and at the meetings he attended, especially one in Chicago, if the wrong flag was flown, according to the audience, there was a row. He came to me and said, "I am really afraid of my life. I think they are going to do something to me if this goes on." I thought it over and I said, "How about this? This is the United States and a good many of these Armenians are American citizens. You are in the United States, why not simply fly the Stars and Stripes and no Armenian flag at all." I considered that a brain wave, and that was done at the next meeting. The following Sunday, as the Armenian Bishop was walking in procession up the central aisle of his church, five Armenians sprung upon him, put a butcher's knife in his tummy, and I was standing over him for an hour and a half on New Year's Day. The point of the story is that as I left the Cathedral, I, in common with everybody else, the hundreds and hundreds that were there, was handed a pink leaflet, saying that the Armenian Bishop was the victim of British Imperialism.

That does sound far-fetched but it actually happened only about two years ago and it made me think what do people think about British Imperialism and what is the good or rather what is the harm of these slogans? So I have been quite busy in my speeches because I have nothing else to talk about explaining that I and men of my age and generation have done very little to acquire — 'acquire' is a better word than grab'—to acquire the British Empire — (I don't include the mandates which are given under the League of Nations;) we have done very little to acquire that British Empire and so we rightly regard it as an inheritance as a great inheritance and as a trust of souls which we have inherited and we believe that some more worthy mortar than conquest or profit now holds its bricks together.

How did the British Empire survive the War? It survived the war because it has a principle of vitality which other Empires may have lacked and that is the spirit of liberty, and the Empire will only last so long as it remains one of the world's guardians of liberty, with enough elasticity to change with a changing world as after the War, when the British Commonwealth of Nations came into existence.

You see, in the old days in earthquake belts, houses and hotels and office buildings mostly fell down and great was the loss of life but now in a city on an earthquake belt an architect so builds buildings that the buildings will swing with the quake and that is how we have got to treat the British Empire to-day, that it may swing with a quake, because the whole world is an earthquake belt.

Well, I have promised, I don't know how it is going to work out, in a year or two I have got to retire on account of old age—I hope I will get a pension, I am sure to have an enlarged liver, sometimes called the white man's burden—when I retire I have promised to conduct Americans on tours through the British Empire, so long as they pay their own fares. I won't necessarily bring them up to Canada because they know this Dominion pretty well, but I want to take them to some of the more out of the way parts, to some places where people don't go so often. I am going to get them to promise not to preach new isms when we get to a small village, say, in Nigeria, to bring in subscription forms for the aforesaid Book-of-the-Month Club, because it won't be understood. I want to show them some of these men of ours who are administering justice and trying to teach the natives justice and trying to train them toward democracy, even though the word, democracy, is not in their vocabulary, and is very difficult to translate. I don't know if any of you have been in the out-of-the-way parts. You can see every day, before a small hut with practically no shade and perhaps just one tree, a young man in khaki shirt and shorts, surrounded by natives in every shape and size and—dress, I was going to say but they haven't got any—and he is administering justice, simply by listening to the story of the man who is on trial before him. If he listens to the story right back to the great great grandmother, he can swing that man from the highest tree, and he knows he has had justice. If he once interrupts the trial, even though the man knows he is guilty, he is not satisfied with the penalty. That is how we administer justice in the out-of-the-way parts of our Empire and that is one of the reasons why I thrill when I see the Union Jack and why I thrill when I come up here and see the Union Jack flying from the first building.

I hope I am not boring you by giving an account of my stewardship, but I felt I ought to do that when I came home.

'Well, well, the world must turn upon its axis and all mankind turn with it, heads or tails, and live or die, make love and pay our taxes and as the veering wind shifts, shift our sails;' but I do hope we are not going to lose our principle of vitality. I do hope we are not going to lose our nerve with all this limelight turned upon us for it was a loss of nerve that lost the Greeks their Empire; and I hope we are not going to lose our character, that intangible thing that gets formed while we are at school and in the years just after we leave school and we don't know how it has been formed but we and all who see know it is there. Some of us wonder what the patron saint, Saint George, saved. I think it was his girl's character. If he hadn't I doubt whether she would have remained in the headlines. I also wonder sometimes what she wore and how she wore and how George got sainted, but that is another story.

I sometimes am afraid because we get defeatist Britishers coming to America, occasionally even members of Parliament, who came over during the depression and told the Americans that the Old Country was down and out and, naturally, when Americans hear prominent men tell that, they begin to believe it. The Old Country, used in the sentimental term, puts the accent on the 'Old,' but a country is just the age of its machinery and the men who run that machinery and I fancy over in Great Britain the machinery is showing that it is pretty good and that the men and women who are running it are just in the middle of a vigorous prime of life.

I did forget one thing. In my last few minutes I would like to say I forgot to dwell upon that self-interest which the speaker I referred to mentioned. Well, we are all self-interested. You are self-interested, I am self-interested. All God's chillun are self-interested. Even the little old lady who sits at the end of the fourth pew in the centre aisle of the church every Sunday morning is self-interested. We all are, but I do think the self-interest of the British Empire runs along safe lines because it runs along the lines of peace and trade and those are safe lines because as long as men are engaged in legitimate interests, in the interests of trade, they don't want to go to war and they don't want their rulers to send them to war, and they don't want their rulers to be forever building more and more armaments and spending money for doing that, and I think American self-interest runs along very nearly, if not quite, the same lines as ours does. In fact, they run along parallel lines. The only pity about parallel lines is they are very beautiful but they don't meet. As you have heard and read, America insists she doesn't want any foreign entanglements and she doesn't want to be entangled in war. We think she is very lucky and, possibly, very wise not to want any entanglements and I hope she will be able to get away with it. Galsworthy said that Britain is twenty odd sea-miles more idealistic than Europe and the United States is three thousand sea-miles more idealistic than Europe, so she will, if she possibly can, keep out of all entanglements that lead to war. But I think we of the British Empire ought to entangle her in peace or, if she thinks we are putting anything over and she would like to do the entangling, I have told her the British Empire will be back of her and at each side of her, helping the cause of peace because that is exactly what we want.

I do feel, seeing it is so important, seeing that the existence of our race depends on it, we ought to put aside the petty plaints of Americans who never will like Britishers and Britons who never will like Americans—they are not so numerous after all—and we ought to try and merge our self-interest, especially in order to try our level best to strengthen the peace of the world. (Applause.)

There is one more thing. Coming back home, I would like to say that living over there I have reached one conclusion, that is that never has there been a time in our history when the British Empire should to its own self be true; it is most important in these days. Sometimes, I dare say, we get disheartened, sometimes we are apt to lose confidence, but when we do let's remember we are not required to face such problems as our fathers faced and as our fathers surmounted. You know so well, you who know and read the history of this great Dominion, the difficulties and the problems your fathers surmounted in far less favourable circumstances than those which we can enjoy, with far fewer resources, but possibly with greater strength and will power, because they believed in something greater than themselves and we are so busy that it is sometimes difficult for us to believe in anything at all. But they won out and they won out because they had faith and not fear. They were 'men with hearts of vikings and the simple faith of a child' and we are going to maintain the traditions they gave us, the Empire they gave us, the glory of our inheritance. We are going, sincerely and conscientiously, not smugly, for Heaven's sake, not smugly, but sincerely and conscientiously to strive toward a sound and lasting recuperation after the vicissitudes of these last twenty odd years, and a greater social charity, determined to retain or, if we have lost it just for the moment, to regain the 'mastery of our fate.'

(Applause, prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, this is the first occasion on which I have been warned in advance as to how not to express a vote of thanks. Sir Gerald—you have told us of the Chairman who in thanking a speaker woke up the audience and destroyed the effect of the speech by his comments, I am so now warned that I am not going to make any comments on the wonderful, serious speech you have made, and in this audience I can't see anyone who needs waking up. I am only going to say that we have great thanks to offer you for coming here today and giving us, particularly the members of the Empire Club but undoubtedly all of us in this country, the medicine you have given so that we may take seriously the problems of the Empire. The fact that the medicine, the pills you have given us were sugar-coated with a beautiful sense of humour makes them all the more effective. I thank you, on behalf of all the members of the Empire Club and the guests here assembled.

FLOODS

An Address by MR. CLYDE EDDY

Thursday, 28th January, 1937

President: Floods have been, since Biblical times, the supreme visitation of Providence on humanity. Fires may destroy, earthquakes may terrify, but unharnessed runaway water is nature gone wild. Our press today is filled with accounts of agonies of our neighbours to the South as a result of the destruction of their property, loss of lives and the threat of disease. To the sufferers we offer our sympathy.

To Mr. Clyde Eddy, who graciously accepted our invitation to address us on this very serious condition and the possibility of avoiding recurrences, we extend our welcome.

Mr. Eddy has had an adventurous career. Born in Texas of Scottish pioneer parents, he fell heir to many of the experiences of the early settlers of that Western country. At High School, in Cripple Creek, Colorado, he was the boyhood chum of Lowell Thomas. There, strangely enough, Lowell Thomas was editor of the school paper and Clyde Eddy, head of the debating society.

The hum-drum of school was too drab for Clyde Eddy and at the age of sixteen he ran away and joined the Navy. After two years' service, his father found him and bought him out. He was sent to the University of California where he specialized in Chemistry. Naturally, he enlisted in the Great War and there performed unusual service in air photography, flying in every machine that would fly.

Since the war he has spent his time in Journalism, the pursuit of science and finaly in his present occupation, in the field of medicine, where he is succeeding in putting the distribution of drugs on a higher plane, at once producing scientific materials for the prevention and cure of disease and reducing to a vanishing point the so-called remedies of commercialized quacks.

I have great pleasure in introducing Mr. Eddy.

MR. CLYDE EDDY: When the subject of my talk today was suggested to me by Major Balfour, I hastened to assure him that I am not qualified by first hand observation to discuss the present disastrous flood in the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys. I did express willingness, however, to describe as well as I could some incidents which occurred in the spring of 1927 when a group of us spent six frightened weeks fighting our way 800 miles at flood tide down the Colorado River, from Greenriver, Utah, through Cataract, Glen and Grand Canyons, past the present site of Boulder Dam, to Needles, California.

The Colorado River rises in a group of alpine lakes near Long's Peak in Colorado. It is joined in Eastern Utah by the Green and the combined river flows south through Utah, cuts across the northern end of Arizona, becomes the boundary line between Nevada and Arizona, and between California and Arizona, and flowing a hundred miles through old Mexico, empties at last in the torrid Gulf of California. The Colorado is a mad, crazy stream. In 1700 miles it falls 14,000 feet. Flowing at tremendous speed, its heavy, turbid water carries up to ten per cent of sand and silt. At a time of low water the Colorado flows like a normal river through its canyons; at periods of high water the powerful current picks up great boulders and rolls them down-stream along the smoothly polished river bed.

The amount of sand and silt carried by the western rivers in times of flood is almost inconceivable. We think of the Missouri as a muddy river. We speak of it as 'The Big Muddy.' At flood tide the Missouri River carries from three to six-tenths of one per cent of sand and silt. The Colorado at flood tide will carry ten to fifteen per cent of sand and silt. The San Juan River—the principal tributary of the Colorado flowing in from the south — at flood tide, according to government figures, carries forty per cent of sand and silt and only sixty per cent of water. A river of mud in which it is practically impossible to swim, a river so weighted with sand and silt, flowing with such terrific velocity that swimming in the mad, muddy river is out of the question. People have asked if you use canoes on these rivers. You don't use canoes because the river literally wraps canoes around the rocks.

On my first trip down the river in 1927, we covered 800 miles of the Green and Colorado Rivers, through Utah to Needles, California. The first canyon we encountered was Cataract Canyon, which is forty miles long with fifty-four bad rapids. People in the west speak of Cataract Canyon as the grave-yard. Government records show that twenty-nine men have gone down Cataract Canyon and never have been heard from again. The total fall of the river in Grand Canyon is 2,225 feet. The Colorado River is cliff-bound—mind you, there are only three places in 800 miles where is it possible to bring wheeled vehicles down to the water's edge—the river is cliff-bound nine-tenths of the way from its source to its mouth. It is subject to floods of incredible violence, caused by the sudden melting of snow in the mountains, or by the torrential downpours of rain on the desert-like plateau through which it flows. If we call the volume of the Colorado normal at low water in December, then thirty-seven rivers go crashing down its narrow canyons at high water every spring. Its volume, strength and fury may multiply six times in a single night, raising the wate level fifty feet in the narrow canyons, sweeping away the boats of luckless voyagers, leaving them to die of starvation in the canyons where they cannot climb. I have found in the upper gorge of the Grand Canyon, water-piled driftwood, a hundred feet, above the normal level of the water, left by floods in recent years.

My expedition of 1927 left Greenriver, Utah, on the morning of June the 27th. There had been unusual rains. The entire mountain country is an arid section but the rains that season had been unusual. The snow was melting in the mountains. The natives of Greenriver told me it was suicide to try to go through the canyons at that time of year. A motion picture outfit from Hollywood had been planning to use the river as a motion picture background. I knew they were planning to go through and I wanted to get through ahead of them. They actually didn't get started until November. When they did get started, I was their guide. We got away on the 27th day of June and the next point at which we could leave the river was Lees Ferry, 320 miles down stream.

On the first few days I watched the level of the river. I watched for rains, I watched for possible floods at night. I made it a point to sleep just at the edge of the water, so that if the water came up it would waken me and I could get up and move higher. I made it a point to wake up every two hours during the night of my six weeks on the river. I established a beautiful habit of waking every two hours, a habit which I continued for months after I got home. I made it a point to mark the level of the water at night when I went to bed. I would put a stone on another stone or a stick against the rocks, and as the markers disappeared in the morning I knew the river was rising.

The night of the 5th of July we were camped in the steep central section of Cataract Canyon. We had rain all day on the national holiday, the 4th of July, and didn't celebrate—we worked on the boats. On the 5th, we worked hard all day—and covered three-quarters of a mile. We were tired at night when we drew our boats up against the talus slope at the foot of a cliff. We could see the point three-quarters of a mile up-stream that we had left that morning. There was need to hurry because our food supply was limited and we still had many miles to go. I laid down that night, thoroughly tired out, as usual just at the edge of the water. We went to bed shortly after sundown, thoroughly tired, and as I lay down I heard a sound like thunder. Thunder is ordinarily not a frightening sound, but I was on the alert for anything of the kind and I sat up instantly and said, "Is that thunder?" I looked at the little crescent of sky and I could see overhead the bright desert stars shining brilliantly. I thought, "That can't be thunder," and then a crazy idea came to me—I suppose I had in mind the great Johnstown Flood of 1889—and I said, "That is a wall of water sweeping down the canyon to destroy us!" Which showed that I was thoroughly nervous. The sound was not repeated and I thought it was just my imagination. I started to lie down again, and a second time I heard the sound, very distinctly and I located it. It was in the river. The rising water was tearing boulders free from the banks or from the rapids above camp and was rolling them over and over down stream and jamming them into the rapids below camp with a sound like thunder.

I remembered that Dellenbaugh, who went through with Powell, in 1869, had mentioned a similar phenomenon at the flood tide season on Powell's Expedition.

I sat for a few minutes and I thought, "As long as the rocks stay in the river they can't do us any harm." There was nothing else to do so I lay down and presently I was asleep. I had been asleep an hour and a half when I was awakened with a feeling that someone was tugging at my feet and legs. I sat up, knowing instantly what had happened. The river had come up and was sweeping over me. I grabbed a flashlight and in the ray of light could see our boats being hammered back and forth on the rocks. Our kitchen stuff was floating away. By that time I was standing straight up. I aroused the other members of the party and from midnight until dawn, we worked to recover what we could of our supplies. We hauled 3,000 pounds of boats and 3,000 pounds of food and camp equipment fifty feet up the talus slope. Along toward dawn we had got as high as we could go and stood at the foot of the cliff, a group of thirteen men and a dog. The dog didn't appear worried but the thirteen men were, I assure you. We stood there in the dark, the river roaring and pounding, between the narrow canyon walls that stretched before us. With my flashlight I could pick out in the cliff above us pieces of driftwood, lodged in the crevices of the rock. I knew that the water had in former years been higher than any point which we could reach that night. I knew if there were another ten foot rise there would be thirteen more men added to the twenty-nine who hadn't got through Cataract Canyon. However, a few hours after dawn the river began to recede. I looked at figures later compiled by the Federal Government and found that the river in six hours had risen from 40,000 cubic feet of water per second to 120,000 cubic feet of water per second. Three rivers were pouring down the narrow canyon where there was only one before.

The only thing that kept my expedition together that morning in Cataract Canyon were the walls of Cataract Canyon. The camera man wanted out, three of the other members of the party wanted to leave. It was interesting to see the behaviour of these four men who decided that morning that they couldn't stand another mile of the river and yet who had to go to the finish of the 320 miles to Lee's Ferry, the first place to get out.

Government records show that fewer than fifty men have fought their way successfully through Grand Canyon in the sixty-five years that have elapsed since the first exploration of the river in 1869 by John Wesley Powell. At least as many have died in vain attempts. Nineteen major efforts have met with defeat or disaster and in that time only three expeditions, first, the United States Geological Survey in the fall of 1923, and my own two Expeditions, first at high water in 1927 and again at the unprecedently low water in 1934, have successfully fought their way through Cataract Canyon and Grand Canyons.

It was extremely interesting to me to see the different character of the river at the two levels of water. At low water the river seemed to fall lazily along through the Canyon. At high water we didn't even think of it as a river. We called it 'she,' and 'she' is a dragon. I was thoroughly frightened of the river. I woke up one night when we were camped on a gravel bar out in midstream—I had sent the other members of the party ashore to sleep where it was dry on the sand — it was along in the middle of the night—we had been on the way for five weeks and I had been afraid from the moment we left Greenriver, I woke up in the middle of the night and the rapids were roaring in my ears and I sat up for a moment, and I thought to myself, "You know, I think I would be afraid to swear right out loud now and say, 'You old devil'." The Indians in that section of the country are afraid to cross the river even on bridges and they regularly sprinkle the muddy waters of the dragon river with sacred meal.

Four hundred miles below Greenriver, we came to the Sockdolager Rapids, one of the best known rapids on the river but actually not the worst rapids by any means, one of the best known, perhaps, because of its name. For nearly 400 miles we had been travelling through the brightly coloured sedimentary rocks and now we came to where the river dipped down into the granite, the very bed-rock of the world in a gorge, 1,000 feet deep, below 5,000 feet of sedimentary rock. We stood at the head of the Sockdolager Rapids and tried to pick a channel through.

I had with me a government publication which said that previous navigators on the river, had over-estimated the height of the waves in the rapids. One of them, meaning Powell, said they were 36 feet high from trough to crest. The government publication went on to say that actually they were only 20 feet high from trough to crest. I wonder what height waves the government writer would require to make him say real high waves.

The current flows at 30 miles an hour through the rapids. Here are 20-foot waves. There are rocks in the way and our small boat was 16 feet long. I wondered what happens when a 16-foot boat goes into a 20-foot wave and whether you can really dodge the rocks. There was nothing to do but find out. There is no way out on this river. There is no way to climb up the 5,000 or 6,000 feet of cliffs. There is no way to get back upstream. There is only one way to go and that is on.

Accordingly, that morning, we pushed off. Galloway and I lead off in the smallest boat. At the head of the rapids it felt as if we had headed straight for the bottom of the river as we dipped into the trough of the wave. As we were hurled to the crest it felt as though we were going straight out of the top of the canyon, a mile above us. We shipped half a boat-load of water.

I looked back at one time to see how the other boats were faring. Directly behind us was a 22-foot boat with four men. Two of the men were fanning the air with their oars and the others were under the water waiting their turn to come up. Then I looked away and when I looked back again, both boats were safely through.

I leaned over to a water-proof pocket on one side of the boat and took out a pencil, thinking I would mark the hour that we were going through the rapids. Mind you, the crazy river had just let us through one of the worst of its hazards. Galloway was off guard for a moment. He was rolling a cigarette. We were not in the rapids but we were going along at a fast pace between sheer walls. There was no sign of immediate danger. Then, suddenly, so quickly that to this day neither of us know what did it, the crazy river tipped the boat over and caught both of us under it. I had told the men a thousand times to cling to the boats if they were thrown overboard. Whirlpools will get a man, they will not always get the boat. I reached for the gunnel of the boat. Of course, I had on my life preserver, which should have helped me but it offered such resistance to the water that I could hardly cling to the boat. I was in the midst of one of the whirlpools. The water literally wrapped itself around me. I could feel it dragging me down and then, suddenly, I felt that I was free of it and I pulled myself out into the open air. I crawled up on top of the over-turned boat and looked for Galloway. He was gone. I knew he must still be under the boat and I started after him. Then, as I slid off one side of the boat, Galloway bobbed up on the other side. He said later that he had got tangled in the bow rope and had trouble getting free.

We both climbed up on the overturned boat and called out to the other men to come to our rescue. One of the boats came to us and the other went to collect one of our oars which had broken free. As the boat came along side, the first thing I did was to take from between my teeth the pencil with which I had been writing when we upset. Somehow, in the excitement I had very carefully saved the pencil by placing it between my teeth.

We had been on the river five weeks, when we lost one of our boats, one of the big boats. Perhaps it was my fault. We had come to Deubendorf Rapids. I knew there was a possibility of clear water down stream where Tapeats Creek comes in.

You have read of people in need of water, with "water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink." It is so on the Colorado. You can drink the water, but it carries ten to fifteen per cent of sand and silt, and does not make pleasant drinking. If you drink it, avoid grinding your teeth together to avoid wearing your teeth out. So we were hurrying on, hoping that we might get clear water at night for camp and late in the afternoon I gave orders to line the boats along the shore to see if we could get by. The river caught us off guard for a moment. It jammed one of the boats against a rock, 30 feet from shore, and held it there against our best efforts to pull it out. Darkness comes early in the canyons and when we went to bed that night I had the very uncomfortable feeling that there was one of my precious boats out in the river being hammered to pieces. For four days we worked on that boat. I have shown people pictures of the boat caught in the rapids and if I should show them to a hundred of you now, and ninety of you were to suggest how to get the boat out of the rocks, I should say, we tried your way, and your way and your way. We tried every way. Ten men can think of a lot of things to do in four days, when their lives may depend upon what they think and do.

On the fourth night a flood came down the river. The boat simply disappeared from sight and the next morning I knew we had to hurry on because we were running short of provisions and had to leave it there. Seven years later I went through that section of the Canyon again. I was in need of oars. There is a great casualty among oars on a trip of that kind. I found an oar that I had left there seven years before. I found it, and used it. Then, I thought it was such a fine souvenir that I brought it home with me.

Next May and June, spring floods will again sweep down the Colorado River. Again there will be a rise in the water of from 55 to 60 to 100 feet. Hundreds of thousands of gallons of muddy water will sweep down the Canyon—great floods of water which formerly swept over the levees and destroyed the irrigation projects in Imperial Valley and caused millions of dollars in damage. But this year, Boulder Dam will catch and hold the flood, all the sand and silt will settle out and the water during next summer will be delivered as it is needed to the largest irrigated area anywhere in the world. Boulder Dam is the largest government undertaking since the Panama Canal. It is number one dam of the entire world. It is 1200 feet across the top. It towers 630 feet above foundation rock. It is 650 feet thick at the base and required 7,000,000 tons of cement to build, which is enough cement to build a standard 16-foot automobile highway all the way across the continent from Miami, Florida, to Seattle, Washington. The reservoir above the dam will hold 4,500,000 acre-feet of water—enough water to cover the entire State of New York to a depth of one foot. This water not only will irrigate the land below the dam but also will supply power for the thirsty cities of Southern California, to which it also will supply abundant drinking water.

Ultimately, we will have to do in the eastern part of the United States what they have done in western part. I see no way to control floods in the Ohio and the Mississippi River Valleys, except to do what has been done in the West. If we had today the money that has been lost in this present flood we could build a dozen Boulder Dams, up and down the Ohio and the Mississippi River Valleys.

I should like to say a word of warning from my own experience in the Western States. Do not destroy your forests unless you have something to take the place of them, because otherwise you may have your pleasant land washed away. Floods will not only destroy the beauties of your country but they also will destroy your industries along the lower rivers. Preserve your forests or have something else to take their place. That protection, so far as the present flood is concerned, is something we wish we had but we haven't at this moment.

In the meantime, there are a million people in the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys who today need not only our thoughts but our substantial aid. Typhoid vaccines are required. There are 800,000 people out there who have probably received now the first injection of their typhoid vaccine and that must be continued to prevent an epidemic of disease. Pneumonia serums, cod liver oil for the children, food, shelter—these are the things that are needed.

I was told last night that $16,000 worth of medical supplies left Toronto yesterday afternoon for the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys. (Applause.) That is the kind of help we need and I believe that the community of interest that we establish in a situation of this kind will go a long way toward cementing the increasing good-will that exists between our two sister countries.

Thank you. (Applause.)

President: Mr. Eddy, I wish to express the thanks of all present, and all within the sound of your voice, for this excellent object lesson you have given to us, and, in giving us and I trust, to others who may need it, information regarding the danger from floods. By your splendid narrative of the two Expeditions in the Colorado, you have shown us the power of water, and by your description of the magnitude of Boulder Dam you have shown the remedial work that can be done to prevent destruction by that power. We are indebted to you for giving us these facts in such a way that we can draw conclusions with more force, probably, than if you had spoon-fed us with the conclusions.

CAN CANADA REMAIN BRITISH

AN ADDRESS BY GARNET C. NEFF, K.C.

Thursday, 4th February, 1937

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I am taking the liberty today of asking Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C., to introduce the guest-speaker. Mr. Fetherstonhaugh is one of the fathers of the Empire Club, one of the most faithful of its members or officers. It is impossible to get him off the Executive Committee and he functions also on the Reception Committee so you all know him. Among his many other activities, he is Chairman for Ontario of the British Dominions Immigration Society. Mr. Fetherstonhaugh.

MR. F. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH: As a brother practitioner of the speaker today, I feel quite an honour in introducing him. The subject which he has chosen is of certain interest to everyone in this audience. The British Dominions Immigration Society has for several years been endeavouring to produce the right sort of emigrant to come to Canada, or immigrants. as we call them, and they subscribed money, both here and in England to help that good object and they are trying to bring only such men as will help to build up Canada. I feel that the speaker today will tell you some facts that will probably astonish you and give you an idea of what should be done to keep Canada British. I will say that there is excellent work to be done and we must take care that we do our part because Australia is making quite an effort to bring the British there and we must not lose the fact that, although labour has rather in a sense made some objection, now that things are getting to improve there should be an opening to bring good men to Canada from England.

Now, to give you an idea. Last year, March 31st, there were 11,103 immigrants who came to Canada. Of these, only 2,049 were were British and 9,154 were foreigners. Now, that is very hard to understand why that should be so, but as a matter of personal interest, I tried to get a Canadian or an Englishman for a gardener on my own place. This is personal but it is interesting. I couldn't obtain one that was satisfactory. I had to take a Swede, and they are very good people and have proved very willing. There ought to be room for Englishmen if we are going to let foreigners come in. Why not first build up the British Empire with Britishers, in every sense of the word. I think, as is stated in one of the bulletins issued by the Society here, it is a very serious matter that there should be so many foreigners allowed to come in and the British be practically kept out.

Now, I am not going to say anything further as the speaker will give you very much more information than I can possibly give you, but I assure you the time is ripe for the British Dominions Immigration Society to bring in more Britishers, whether they be Scotch, English or Irish. I think this is our first object, to maintain this Canada of our as a British country. I have much pleasure in introducing Mr. Neff. (Applause.)

MR. GARNET C. NEFF, K.C.: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I wish first to take this opportunity on behalf of Brigadier-General Hornby and of the Committee of which I happen to be Chairman, to express to you our deep satisfaction and thanks for this opportunity of addressing the Empire Club of Canada in the City of Toronto and to bring before them certain ideas and thoughts and a plan of future British settlement which we hope, if implemented, will be one of the first steps toward economic recovering in the Dominion.

I purpose to divide my address into two parts: the first, dealing with answers, perhaps, or discussion, in any event, of the various points that have been advocated, and some from this forum, in opposition to immigration in principle and in opposition to immigration now; and in the second part of my address I shall try and answer the question: "Can we keep Canada British?"

However, before proceeding, coming as I do from the Province of Saskatchewan, it may be of interest to the people of Toronto to know that Saskatchewan is still carrying on and we are proud to say that we have not yet, and I hope the time will never come, when we are going to embark upon the sea of repudiation. There is no more fertile place in Canada, Gentlemen, than our own Province of Saskatchewan for that type of propaganda. Largely, perhaps, through the activity and the generalship, if I may put it that way, of our provincial authorities, they have persuaded our people that the only way in which Saskatchewan can keep her self-respect and get back into the realm of economic production is by attempting to pay our way and we hope that with the co-operation of the East, and extension of time here, adjustments there, and the hand of fellowship extended, that Saskatchewan will come through this depression and be a credit to the Dominion.

At the same time I want to emphasize to you just what this depression has meant. You, in the East, have suffered the depression. We, in the West, have had a depression on a depression, particularly in Saskatchewan. We felt the world-wide depression that Ontario and the rest of the world has suffered, but we have had the drought in addition. When I tell you there are approximately 150,000 of our people in Saskatcewan on direct relief you can realize what a tremendous strain it is, not only on government offices, but upon the people themselves. If you can visualize the situation—people who ten years ago were living in affluence, whose production enabled them to secure the amenities of life and in the changed picture you find that same ideal and standard of living taken away from them—you can agree with me it is fertile ground for different types of propaganda which is not favourable to the continuation of our present system and, to quote a personal example of that, then I shall go on with the other part of my address: Not so long ago, in fact it happened this winter, a man who ten years ago was living in affluence, was able to send his boy and his daughter to the University, came into my office. We were talking over the general situation and he said, "Neff, do you know what I am wearing for underwear?" I said, "I do not." He said, "My wife is a good sewer. She made my underwear out of flour sacks. My little daughter is going to school and I needed the money to buy shoes for her."

So, Gentlemen, don't criticize us too hard. We are doing the best we can and we are going to come through. Our slogan is: Buck up, do our damndest and fight.

Now, then, Gentlemen, in discussing the question of immigration we hear many arguments advanced. We have heard them all, I think, as to why there should not be immigration, and one of them was more or less advanced in this form not so long ago, inferred, at any event, to the effect that we should not have assisted immigration into Canada because previous schemes had not been a success.

Well, Gentlemen, I would like to suggest to you people in Toronto that the very flavour of your life, your political life, your economic life and your social life has been built up on assisted immigration because this County of York of yours, coupled with many of the counties of Ontario were settled originally by assisted immigration. The English families, the Scotch families, the Irish families that settled in Ontario a hundred years ago came here through assisted immigration, and the greatest assisted immigration scheme of all times, the settlement of the British Loyalists after the American Revolutionary War, during which time in a matter of three or four years the British Government, as you know, settled almost 14,000 Loyalists in Canada at an expense to the British Government of something like $96,000,000.

So, when we criticize assisted settlement, particularly in Eastern Canada, let us not forget our ancestors because most of them came here in that way.

Now let us take the two shining examples our opponents use in criticizing assisted settlement. They use the Soldiers Setlement Scheme and the Three Thousand Family Scheme. Now, you know as well as most of us do, that the Soldiers Settlement Scheme, desirable and all as it was, and necessary as it may have been, was not a scheme that was really to the advantage of the returned soldier because he was put on land, purchased as it was at an excessive figure, the money was loaned to him to buy his equipment and he found by the time he had spent his first year on the farm he was head over heels in debt. That is the situation in regard to the soldiers.

In regard to the Three Thousand Family Scheme. Some splendid types of families came out. Many of them are making good but, unfortunately, they were placed on land that the soldier settlers before them could not succeed on. They, too, were settled with a huge debt so by the time they had received some experience in Canadian ways, in our ideas of agriculture and the manner in which we did business, what little capital they brought with them was gone and their hears were broken.

So we are suggesting in future settlements to Canada and particularly under the Hornby Plan, that they must be family settlements, amply financed and with proper supervision to overcome those various points which I have only sketchily given to you. Our idea in this plan is that families will be brought out from Great Britain in an assisted way. They will be put on unit farms, as we call them, made up of a hundred farms in each unit and we hope there will be 250 units throughout Canada, which means an initial expenditure on each unit of something over $1,000,000. These proposed settlers will not purchase this land. They will not own it, nor can they own it. These unit farms will be farms where they receive instruction, where they have proper supervision, where they have guidance and if, in the period of three to five years they can show themselves adaptable to agriculture, then with what money they have saved from their share of the crops as tenants, assisted by a further advance from Britain, they can go out and buy land of their own. What we have done by that scheme is simply we have brought him here. His interest in Canada is costing nothing. All he is expected to do is work and learn. If he can't work and learn he must return to the Old Country at the expense of those who sent him and in addition to that these men and families are going to be settled in units. For instance, let us say Birmingham becomes responsible for a farm unit here. It will be Birmingham people who will come. It will do away with that feeling of loneliness, that feeling of aloofness that every immigrant feels. In other words, he will have some of his own friends, at any rate some of his own countrymen from the same part of the British Isles to which he belongs himself.

Well, I must hurry on. The next point we hear discussed, and I am putting it in my own words, is this question of over-production. Why bring out more people to produce grain when we cannot sell the grain we have already got, I think that is putting it fairly. Well, now, on our settlement plan, the Hornby Plan, we do not intend to grow more wheat. This is a purely agricultural, a mixed farming propostion. We have the Empire Agreements in England, with our quotas for beef and mutton and cattle, bacon, hogs, all that kind of thing. Therefore, instead of growing more wheat we will be growing more feed to take advantage of the provisions of the Empire Agreements. In addition to that these areas that are going to be opened up in this way are areas already under cultivation, within six to eight miles of present transportation lines and in areas that have proven themeselves as being above drought. One of the happy things I have to tell you, in the five or six areas we have already picked in my own province of Saskatchewan, they are not only within that area but they coincide entirely with a soil survey that has recently been put out by the Province of Saskatchewan. Every one of the places we have picked on shows by this soil survey that that land is suitable for mixed farming, so we will have no overproduction.

Now, I want to take a minute to discuss the subject of markets. It is a funny thing, no matter what subject you go into when you analyze it, it all come back to the question of immigration. If you discuss immigration all the other parts of your economic setup are necessary to be understood. Now, we claim we haven't been able to sell our wheat. That was the case a year ago. Now, our carry-over is around 100,000,000 bushels of wheat and that is not an excessive carry-over because the average carry-over is around 85,000,000 bushels. So far as actual selling of wheat for the moment is concerned, that cannot interfere with bringing in more people, and, as I pointed out a moment ago, even though we do bring in more people, we will be producing less wheat so we cannot interfere with the wheat market in any event.

But, let us look at the situation in the United States and in Great Britain. Sir John Boyd Orr, one of the great economists of Great Britain made the statement not so long ago and it was accepted by the Council of the League of Nations, and therefore must be right, that fifty per cent. of the people of Great Britain are underfed. A startling statement to make but one undoubtedly correct. If the social life of Great Britain is put on a basis where the people of Great Britain can be fed, there is then twice the market that exists today for our wheat.

President Roosevelt in an address he gave last November made this startling statement, that the United States of America was living on a third class diet, that if it lived on a second class diet all the land that had ever been in production in the United States would be required to produce food to supply them and if the United States lived on a first class diet, millions more acres would have to be brought under production than ever before in United States history.

So, you can see, Gentlemen, the question of food is a social one and therefore we, in Canada, cannot afford to slacken up on our production. No country ever became great by reducing production or slackening it. We must produce, we are an agricultural country and our hope for the future is to produce the things other people need to eat. That is our duty and I believe that is our heritage and I believe we are going to develop along new lines so as new people come they are going to develop their own markets. They will become a market for our manufactured goods and if we in Canada can get a population of 30,000,000 of people we need worry no more over export of wheat into the United States of America.

Then, the next thing we are met with is that we ought to settle the matter of our own unemployment, look after our own people on the land before we think of bringing in more people from abroad. On the face of that, that is a reasonable suggestion, but as far as agriculture is concerned, I would like to point out to you that only twelve per cent. of the unemployed of Saskatchewan is agricultural, and there is a certain per cent. of the unemployable. When we consider that only twelve per cent. of the unemployed are agricultural we do not need to worry particularly about increasing our land holdings or our production from the land. Further than that, you may have noticed in the press, within the last week I think I noticed it, that on a ship leaving from Montreal last September there were over six hundred skilled mechanics who sailed for England and we are going to wake and Montreal and all the cities of the east, one of these days, possibly this spring, are going to wake up and find that we have not the adequate skilled labour in Canada to look after the type of work that that type of man does. Please remember that. Take the West — we have no blacksmiths, our carpenters are of the jack-knife variety, we haven't any of that basic industry, that basic idea of labour that we had fifty years ago and we must have skilled mechanics if we are going to carry on.

Now, then, how does our scheme affect unemployment? I believe it is an economic principle that is accepted that one gainfully employed creates labour for some one else and it has been ascertained and proclaimed by the Canadian Manufactures Association, and I presume it is correct, that for every family of five that is gainfully employed upon the land, it means something like $1500 per annum to the national life of Canada and the same family productively employed means from $200 to $400 per year to our transportation lines. Now, let us take our scheme for a moment, analyze it and see what effect it is going to have on labour. Take as an example one unit which happens to be close to my own town, a place called, Wolsley, Saskatchewan. At the moment there are 16,000 acres of land, representing a 160-acre farm for each of one hundred families. At the moment there are only twelve sets of buildings. For training purposes on these unit farms the intention is that each family will be put upon a quarter-section. It means, therefore, as far as that unit is concerned, there will have to be eighty-eight new sets of buildings erected—house, barn, pig pen, all that essential housing reasonably necessary on any farm will have to be erected. What does that mean? It simply means that labour is going to directly benefit in two ways, in three ways perhaps many more. It will directly benefit in the lumber camps; it will directly benefit in the transportation lines; it will benefit upon the erecting of those buildings. Take into account the hardware that must be used in the way of nails and the building supplies that are necessary. It meant employment in that way. We have estimated that in erecting the eighty-eight sets of buildings it will give employment for 200 men for at least three months. Surely that is an answer to those who say this plan will not help labour.

Now, after you have the houses they must be equipped. You take a hundred homes that must be equipped with the necessary kitchen utensils, stove, pots and pans, dining-room equipment, bed-room equipment, once this thing is started the factories in eastern Canada will be working overtime. Every home must have two beds, at least.

It must have two stoves. It must have the bare essentials that are necessary for any kind of standard of life. You are gong to find the wheels of industry in Eastern Canada are going to hum. Eastern Canada is going to receive the direct benefit of the development in that and each one of these units, taking into account the purchase of the land, the erection of the home, the equipment of them, will cost in the neighbourhood of $1,000,000.

Now, I am going too slowly, I see. We have another argument that is advanced, that because of the decline in the British birth-rate there is no hope of securing Britishers for Canada. A rather interesting point came out in our daily press yesterday, I think, where it was stated that Hitler through his bonussing of marriages at a cost of $168,000,000 to the State, had raised 3,500,000 extra babies in the last three years. We are not suggesting that the British people subsidize their own marriages but I beg to say this, that one of the reasons why the birthrate of Canada and the birthrate of any other country has declined is not because of contraceptives. As one gentleman has put it, it is not because there is no desire to have children, nor is it because the man and the wife work, but you get down to the real bottom essential fact of it all and you will find there is no sense of economic security. The period of greatness fecundity in marriage is between 18 and 23. They are not marrying at that age and the only obvious reason is that there is no sense of security. On the dole and all as they may be in Britain, safe and all as they may be from immediate distress, no sane man and woman are going to bring children into the world until they see they are going to be able to provide for them. But get us back to the standard of living, get the world back to the standard of living where the father and mother can see there is an opportunity ahead of them,where they have an opportunity from their daily earnings to raise a family and educate them up in the world, and I don't think we need to worry about the birth-rate of Great tBritain declining much and if the birth-rate of Great Britain is declining, now is the time to get them if we ever are. If the birth-rate, as this writer is saying, is going to be reduced by 40,000,000 by the opening of the next century, the only time to get these people is now. Let us get them here, start them up, give them a sense of security and if we have to we can breed the British people right here in Canada.

Now, I am going to go to the other side of the picture: Is Canada going to remain British? On this question I don't want to be misunderstood. In Western Canada we have a reasonably large what may be called a non-English population. A great many of these people are excellent citizens and splendid settlers and in any discussion I have had in the past or purpose having in the future or even now, there is no intention at all of belittling those people as a race, but we do crave the right and the privilege of saying in as much as Canada belongs to the British Empire that all future immigration should come out from the British Isles. (Applause.) So it boils down to this fact, whether or not we are going to be able to have Canada predominantly of British blood or whether because of our cosmopolitanism we are going to wholly be able to have a Canada with British traditions.

Now, in that respect I would like to quote you the Saskatchewan figures. I frankly admit these figures were prepared by myself from cencus returns from Ottawa and I have been criticized for them. However, I can see nothing wrong with my additions, but I am open for correction and if the Department of Statistics at Ottawa will take it upon themselves to see that these figures are checked, I still will be happy to apologize, but I do feel they are correct, nevertheless—and I will hurry. Now, in our Province of Saskatchewan, Gentlemen, the foreign-born, that is the non-English people, counting the parents and children, both aggregate 614,163. The British-born of the same varieties constitute 271,337. In other words, there is an excess if Saskatchewan of foreign-born parents of over 342,000 in a populaton of a million.

In Manitoba, the foreign-born and children represent 370,219, and the British-born represent 284,280. In Alberta there are 506,000 foreign-born and 474,087 British-born.

Now, those are rather startling figures, are they not? Put in terms of percentages, the actual foreign- born as such in Saskatchewan represents 38 per cent of the population. The British-born represents 16 per cent. of the population. In Manitoba the foreign-born represents 23 per cent. and the British-born 17 per cent. of the population, and in Alberta, the foreign-born represents 35 per cent. and the British-born, 18 per cent. of the population.

Now, that is the picture. Those who criticize our activities and the quotations of those figures admit themselves that it is 53 per cent., but on those figures it works out to about 68 per cent.

What is the future situation? Only 2 per cent. of the central European people are intermarrying with British or original Canadian Stock. There are 22 per cent. of the northern European people, the Germans, Norwegians, Swedes and Scandinavians who have intermarried with British stock.

There is the picture. In Canada in the west, what is happening today is that the races there are not intermarrying with British and original Canadian stock but are marrying among themselves and we are originating a race that in all other respects except name is not of British origin. The other day I noticed that something like $14,000 had been spent to buy a type of cow for one of your institutional farms, but anybody can come into the Dominion of Canada and settle on the land here as long as they have $1,000., unless he be a Jap, or a Chinaman or a Hindu. We are taking great pride, we are spending huge sums of money to see that the stock on our institutional farms is perfect, that we are going to breed a fine type of cattle, but no suggestion is made as to what type of people we shall have in our country. Don't you think the time has arrived to think of Canada and that we as Canadians want to see that the foundation type, of the West, particularly, is of the same type of stock that you people started the East on? Why shouldn't we have our foundation stock out there of British, Irish and Scotch, that type that has made Eastern Canada what it is today? All we ask, Gentlemen, all we ask is that we be given the same opportunity in Western Canada to develop a race of people that is strong, sturdy and self-reliant, the same chance you had here in the East.

That is why we are down here. That is why we are appealling to you. We feel that the only chance for the future of the West, if it is going to remain British, even in tradition, is that we have an influx, a steady influx into the Dominion of Canada, year after year, that will assist in bringing in a new thought, a new idea and a new life into our social life of the West. It is true and I am happy to say it, that we have had many brilliant students go through our universities from our non-English people. It is a credit to them and it is a credit to our own educational institutions, a credit to them because in many cases their fathers and mothers had no education at all and they went about it to see that their children were equipped to carry on life and be able to do business in this new country by having an education, but at the same time we can't help but realize that there is a duty cast upon all Canadians alike for those of non-English parentage and descent, and we, as Canadians and some of us as Britishers, must work out some system whereby we can interpret one to the other the best that is in all races in every class of our citizenry, in every ideal and in every scope of our endeavour, so as we develop, as we get more people in here that forms this foundation stock of ours, that the best traditions of our non-English people will coalesce with the traditions of the British Empire and in that way we will have established a people, in spite of the difficulties we have gone through in the moment, that will be far and above any type that has ever before been on the North American Continent. (Applause.)

There is just one other point I would like to mention, Gentlemen. That is that immigration into Canada for the six months, January 1st, 1936 to June 30th, 1936. Of 50,252 who emigrated into Canada, only 9,012 were British. What is wrong? What is wrong? Is there any reasonable answer? Why shouldn't the Britisher desire to come to Canada in preference to Australia or in preference to South Africa or New Zealand, Why is it? Is it our fault? The time is coming when we must say to Great Britain and that is what we are attempting to do in our activities now, to have the Government of Canada say to Britain, "We are ready to accept your people." The Province of Saskatchewan has already said so. The Province of British Columbia has already said so. The Province of British Columbia has even gone further. They have stated that if there are any crown lands in British Columbia suitable for this type of settlement, British Columbia will grant them and will also discuss the question of taxation. That is what British Columbia has done. Mr. Aberhart has verbally promised to support the scheme and we have had wonderful progress with the Premier of Manitoba and we hope before this week is out that he, too, will follow.

So, when we are down here, what is it? It is the West calling to the East, calling to you to help us, to give us that help and assistance and driving force and power and influence that will weigh with your governments in the East so they will realize that we have the thoughtful and influential people of Canada behind us and that they will acquiesce in our idea of commencing British immigration under a scheme of family settlement which is properly financed and where there will be ample room for supervision. (Applause.)

In the past four months many of us have spent more time than we can afford in advocating this scheme of settlement but there comes a time in the history of us all when we must give a bit of service to our country. Do you not think, Gentlemen, you who are down here in the heart of Canada, in the financial heart and in the social heart, do you not think that you, as representative men of this community, of this great city and of this province, should band yourselves together, give a few hours or a few days of your time, so that we will be enabled to initiate a policy of immigration into Canada through which we know that the people who come have the same ideals, speak the same language and are loyal to the same King. Thank you. (Hearty applause.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. Neff, on behalf of the Empire Club and all others within the hearing of your voice, I wish to thank you for this address today. The Empire Club is an open forum and it is quite true, as you have said, we have had recently in this hostrum a more dismal picture of the immigration situation. Your address today has given us reason for optimism as to the future of this country and the likelihood of it remaining British if you succeed in your mission to the East. We understand that you are Chairman of the Saskatchewan Migration and Settlement Committee and are here for the purpose of interesting people in the East and perhaps more particularly the Federal Government to take some action with regard to your scheme. The Empire Club is non-political, non-partisan, but I think I am safe in saying we all wish you success in your mission. Thank you very much.

CANADA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA

AN ADDRESS BY CHARLES T. CURRELLY, M.A., LL.D.

Thursday, 11th February, 1937

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, this is the Chinese New Year and I think it is fitting and proper that the Empire Club of Canada should extend to the Chinese Empire New Year Greetings.

Modern progress has really made this world we live in smaller. We have so advanced in methods of transportation, and communication, through wireless, telegraph, and long distance telephone that nations which were far distant yesterday are our neighbours today. Canada's geographical position makes China one of our neighbours today. China is the West to Canada, it is the East to the Old World. It is obvious that the relations existing and to exist between Canda and China should be a subject of great importance to us all, particularly those of us who believe in the British Empire.

Our guest-speaker today, Dr. Currelly, by intensive study and research and by personal contact has made himself so acquainted with conditions in the East and with the character of the conditions in China that he is well qualified to address us on this subject. Dr. Currelly needs no introduction from me. You all know his position in this community and I know you will listen to him with interest on this most important subject. I have much pleasure in introducing Dr. Currelly who will address us on "Canada's Relations with China."

DR. CHARLES T. CURRELLY: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: When we try to look at our affiairs from a fairly wide standpoint there comes always a peculiar temptation to say that history repeats itself. I have given a good deal of attention to the general history of the world and I do not feel that we can really say that history repeats itself, but we can say that many things come very close to repetition. We are now within a very difficult period of affairs, one that is very hard to understand, but something very similar happened before and perhaps it might help us a little bit to understand. You know that the century before Christ was singularly like the 19th century. The world was opened up. Roads, and good roads, were established nearly everywhere. Safety had come. Pompey had put down the pirates, the seas were safe. Mass production was getting well under way.

In one week, I may say, we received two objects, one which Dr. White sent from Honan and one which a friend of mine sent from London. They were made in the same factory in Alexandria, just about the time of Christ. One was traded west to London, and one was traded east to Honan in China.

There was this great opening up of mass production—a tremendous development of the world's trade, seemingly a great classification of the world, and all of a sudden, almost as it were overnight, there was a swing over to an arbitrary form of government, a dictatorship, perhaps as severe and violent as could be imagined. In the great democracy of Rome, ruling the world as a democracy, there suddenly was a tryanny that would be fairly hard to excel. Now, what caused that? Why, moreover, were the people satisfied with it for so long? Because, in spite of the terrible tyranny that was a result, things did go on— and they went on very well; and we have to acknowedge that those countries that have thrown themselves under a very highly organized committee of people to dominate them have, as far as one can see, got along very well. The development of Italy is spectacular. I don't think anybody who has been there has not come away tremendously impressed with the extraordinary development. The same thing is true in Germany.

Now, is it impossible for a democracy to have a thought-out and reasoned plan of action? That, it seems to me, is what is given to the people of Italy and Germany and what was given to the Romans who went under this very definite, limited form of government. Things were brought out and things were worked out and the government was not just pulling this way and that way in the good old muddling process that we seemingly brag about so much in our own affairs.

Even before the War, Germany was very much given, indeed, to a general conceived plan. May I give you an example? In the first decade of this century, the museum of Berlin sent an expedition down the west coast of Africa. Everything was planned. The members of the expedition paid no fares. People high enough in the government asked that these museum men might have free transportation on the ships and that they might also be picked up if there was no harbour. They went down quite carefully visiting tribe after tribe and making a very special study of the weavings, either in fabrics, cotton and so forth, or in basketry, and particularly making a careful study of the designs because, as you know, all primitive design is prayer, prayer for help for something or other. One design will protect you in one way, another design in another way. The expedition took home a marvellous collection of primitive work. The museum put some of the young men to work at it and the general designs of the textiles were grouped into areas, keeping as many as possible of the designs in one general group, that is, to cover as large an area as possible. The designs were taken to the cotton printers and within about a year and a half to two years, two-thirds of the British cotton trade was knocked right out of the West African coast. The Lancashire mills were idle and the Germans were reaping an enormous harvest of profit; and it was some years, after the War came on, that the English cotton people had to work out a similar thing to get back their trade; but Germany had it for years. It was just on that team play of drawing the different agencies of the country in together and saying, "Now, what do we want and how are we going to get it?" I think it is rather sad, as I said before, that we should tend rather to brag, "O, well, we will muddle through somehow."

Now, remember, Gentlemen, that the 19th century belonged to Britain. She had the ships, she had the men, she had the peace. Do you realize that? The peace that allowed the people to wander, and British ships were pushing their noses up every creek of the newly discovered lands. The explorer was ahead of the commercial traveller. England had it all her own way so it was easy to muddle through. That is over with. You may say to-day that there are practically no new markets. We have to look toward the development of those things which will be most profitable on both sides. We cannot go out and discover new lands.

Some years ago a friend's son told me that wishing to leave East Africa he thought he would have a little trip through the Congo. He got an old Ford car and went through, and when he told me that there were plenty of gasoline stations through the Congo, it came to me as a very definite shock.

Now, may I offer for your consideration for a very short time, the idea that we might very well, as Canadians, look to China as one of the countries that it behooves us to study and with which we might look forward to having long and continued, successful trade? To begin with, China is our next door neighbour. We are not divided by a sea but linked by a sea. Some time ago I had a very definite illustration of that. My old home is down in Durham County, near Port Hope. Way freight was $9.00 a ton, which was what I paid from Toronto to Port Hope, about 62 miles. I was also paying $9.00 a ton from Tientsin, China to Vancouver. Perhaps one doesn't think of that. The sea is our best link, not our division. Sea travel is extraordinarily cheap. From Tientsin, China, around to Montreal is the same price as a comparatively short land trip. We are linked to China by the cheapest carrier that is possible.

Now, when we have to look forward to our own development of trade, it seems to me there are two considerations. First of all, we must ask, "What do our climate and our general land and rock, timber, and other conditions give us?" And second, "What do they not give us?" In picking out nations with whom we would like to develop trade, not just a spluttery trade of a few years but a long and permanent and, if possible, a happy condition of trade, we want to pick out countries where the transport is easy and where there is a very great deal of difference between their conditions and ours. It seems to me that our next door neighbour to the west, China, offers an almost perfect balance to us in this question of trade. We will never grow silk. We can grow the mulberries, but our whole disposition makes silk-worm culture impossible. We haven't that continuous patience which will let us feed the silk-worms five times a day and do that dainty work of keeping them clean. It seems to require that Oriental patience that we haven't in any sense in our make-up. We will always have to buy our silk. We will always have to buy our tea because our climate will not grow it, and I quite agree with the tea merchants that we are going to use more and more tea—as you may have seen from some of the advertising. Again, we cannot grow cotton because our climate will not let us do it. And we are going to use more and more cotton. We cannot grow rice. Our climate will not let us do it, and I doubt if our people would do it if we tried to develop our wild rice. We don't seem to be fond of working in semi-liquid mud. Then, again, our climate will not let us grow cane sugar. Also, our climate will not let us grow the masses of cheap peanuts that go into that immense amount of peanut oil that is being imported, and also the t'ung oil we probably could not grow, although that has not yet been tried.

Now, here are a few things we will have to import, probably for all time. These are essentially the products of China.

What does China want, on the other side? It just seems to want the very things we are made to produce. Here we are, whether we take this southern Ontario or our West, a country among the very richest in the whole world, a land so rich that as I said here not long ago to another group, every nation whose people have ever come here has gone down because the land has been too rich and they have been driven out by another group coming in. Let us hope we are not in that succession of people who, enervated by too rich a country, will be driven out in turn. We have the power of growing unlimited quantities of food. I have lived in many countries, and I have never seen any country that has the power of food production that we have. We don't need to go out of this Ontario of ours to put up our land against practically any in the world, except perhaps a few valleys here and there, but those have only small areas. We can grow food. We can grow the grains in great quantities. The Chinese will always have to import grain.

Dr. White was telling me just recently that the best figures that can be obtained show the population of China to be increasing, roughly, twenty millions a year. That is, twice the number of people we have in Canada are being added, that many mouths are being added, to China every year. There will be an ever-increasing demand for just the thingss that we want to sell: food, powdered milk, butter, cereals, and also an ever increasing demand for woollen goods.

Now, there are two things that you would say would just naturally come together. I always like O. Henry's expression—"There are some things that just seem naturally to go together, like ham and eggs, Irish and trouble, and things of that kind." What are we doing? Are we going to let other nations who have things to place, slip in ahead of us? That seems to me to be the question. Are we doing anything other than just — well — letting things drift along, to develop that very trade which is, to begin with, as I said, at our doors and, secondly, which is just that type of trade that fits in with what we want and what we have to sell in the largest quantities?

Also, there isn't any doubt that Canada is going to become a very great manufacturing nation, and we may have to look to that. That we may be able to sell our products of one kind, we will have to rather cut down on certain manufactures and import them in order that we may thereby produce a market for our goods.

I think if you were to look around and ask what we are doing to develop that trade consciously, you would have to say we are doing very little, very little indeed. Other people are doing a very good deal. Our neighbours to the south, with their usual shrewdness, have been drawing over hundreds and hundreds of young Chinese students to their universities, so they may go back with the local knowledge that is so useful. Some years ago the Canadian Bank of Commerce was asked by a Chinese banking family to train one of their young men. Sir Ermund Walker, at that time head of the Bank, was enthusiastic about it. The young man was brought over here and given a pretty good grilling. I asked Sir Edmund some time after how it was working out. He said, "He is just tumbling all over himself to bring business to the Bank." Now, you can understand that such a young man returned home, having had so many of the great advantages of western education, if asked by somebody, "Where can I get certain thing?" would say, "O, I am sure So-and-So in Toronto would be able to tell you." He wouldn't say, "So-and-So in New York," because he wouldn't happen to know about New York. In that way, just that they may show their own knowledge and their own helpfulness to their people, such young people do bring in an enormous amount of business to the place where they have received their education. We are doing nothing. The fact is we are pretty nearly putting stumbling blocks in the way of Chinese students coming here. A movement was brought forward some years ago to see if it were not possible to have at least twenty brought to the Province of Ontario every four years, so that we might have at least twenty men going back to act as our interpreters and our agents in China. We are not doing it. Some time ago a very large deal was about to go through, but the Chinese bankers wouldn't back it. A prominent lawyer here told me that the thing was just about settled when the bankers said, "What has Canada ever done for us?"—and we lost a very large deal.

Our position regarding China is one that I think we should consider also from another side, and that is this we owe about one-half of our civilization to them. Very few of us would be here today if it were not for what has been received from China. We simply wouldn't have been alive. May I, at the risk of boring you, run over a few of the outstanding things that we owe to the Chinese, in order that you may get the idea, if you haven't it already, that when we are trying to work up the closest possible relations in our trade with China, we are dealing with one of the peoples that have given the most to the civilization of the world.

Beginning away back as far as I know, the first machine came from China—a crossbow. The early Greeks got it. They immediately saw its possibilities. They enlarged it in principle, altered it, and made the great engines of destruction that forced the building of very strong walls, forced the very careful cutting of stones and the laying of them so that when the mortar had been shattered they would still hold in their place. In one sense you may trace from that the building of the great cathedrals, where accurate workmanship was learned, and then the building of defences, and that gradually developed into the building of those things to which we point with our greatest pride in our mechanical work.

The next thing that came was silk, with a strange effect. It was brought across to Europe as heavy cloth, unwoven and unspun, and respun as silk gauze. The Romans paid for it at the rate of pound for pound, a pound of gold for a pound of silk, and with that and the spice trade, a million pounds of gold a year disappeared into the East, till gradually Rome went under so that she could not even float her copper currency.

This was a big thing, the coming of silk goods. Thousands of people lived who would otherwise have died, and consequently men were willing to pay enormous sums for this material. In a very, very hot climate where women were cooped up indoors, they could live if they could go naked, but the flies drove them wild. Silk gauze let them keep the flies off and still let the air get to the body, so along the North African Coast, up the Nile and along the Red Sea and so forth, the demand was simply enormous.

When Rome went down, anarchy followed, and in that anarchy came a wild crowd from the east who were riding here and there and everywhere. A village was burned and before the European men collected, another village was in flames. A hundred Huns were riding through here, three hundred there, and so forth, and the terror of the Hun has come down to us as something to shudder at to this day. These men had a wonderful invention that Europe had never developed — the stirrup. For fourteen hundred years people had been riding horses as one of the main methods of getting along, but no one in Europe had thought of throwing a strap across the horse's back and sticking his toes in the loops. We are not so very inventive. Germanic tribes breaking through the Roman barrier saw the immense advantages of the stirrup, and the northern chieftans became the barons, wearing heavier armour because they could get on their horses and do something after they got on: and we have the feudal system developing as a direct result of the stirrup. I cannot see any possibility of the feudal system without the Chinese stirrup that came in with the Huns. It was a form of government that worked. It worked because the very essence of it was that it changed from the leader to the lord, from the duke to the lord, and the lord is the loaf-ward who must feed his people. He had to develop strong men and strong girls that they might defend their own community, and sometimes, of course, raid their neighbours.

So we have a government; but in time, instead of being the lord he became the robber baron, and Europe was in considerable chaos when a new thing arrived from China —gunpowder. A wonderful substance. It made the best possible enjoyment for all the small Chinese boys in the neighbourhood. Wonderful fire works, wonderful fire crackers—all kinds of things—marvellous! Of course, the moment we got it we tried to hurt somebody with it, so we put it in a tube and developed a cannon; and that brought about centralized government because the baron's castle could be blown up. The King, being the richest, had the biggest park of artillery, and so we obtained centralized government.

Just a little earlier than gunpowder came paper, another Chinese invention. That altered the whole of our educational affairs, the whole of our civilization. It altered, as you know, the whole of our trade; and perhaps a good many of us wish it weren't quite so cheap to-day, so that there wouldn't be so much of it dumped in front of us every morning.

Printing came next. The Chinese had used printing for a very, very long time indeed, but the wars of Persia had acted as a barrier to the natural course of trade and had kept it from coming across to Europe. Later on, some Chinese who were fighting with their cousins, the Turks, against the Arabs, were captured up in the Oxus region and were sold as slaves. They were paper-makers, and very rapidly indeed the whole story of paper developed through the Mahommedan world. The development of Mahommedanism meant the development of the Koran, and thousands and tens of thousands of copies of the Koran had to be written. That developed a well paid set of scribes, but when printing came to the knowledge of the scribes, they saw that their job was over with if the miserable printing press ever got into the Mahommedan world. They therefore explained to the Caliph that the end of the world or something closely connected with it would come if printing were ever allowed within the Mahommedan Empire, because the name of God would be wiped over with the hog's hair brush, so the name of God would be mixed up with the despised pig. As a bit of special pleading you can see that it was very good. Anyway, printing was prohibited and remained prohibited, century after century. But, whereas you can stop the rich man, you can never stop the poor man. The merchant princes had their baggage opened and everything was searched, but the greasy coat of the camel-man got through with whatever was in its pockets, and so the pack of playing cards got through. Slowly they got across to the Mediterranean world, and also the description of how the cards were made—that they were printed. Cards had been drawn and painted, which was expensive, and cheap playing cards were the beginning of our printing. Very soon the Church took it up when they wanted to send out numbers of bulls and, as you know, about 1450 A.D. we had the printing of the Bible. That is another thing that completely changed our civilization.

Just at this time there came trickling in from the East a marvellous substance called porcelain. If you hit it, it would ring. It was semi-translucent. It was a strange, uncanny stuff, and people told each other wonderful tales about it. It was mysterious, it was secret, it was all kinds of remarkable things, according to the imagination of the person who happened to be telling about it. It began to trickle in a little more, and people had it set in silver and made a great fuss over it. It came in more and more with the opening up of the East Indies by the Dutch and the trade with China and Japan. The Dutch copied the designs in old majolica ware, but it was too soft, and a knife used on it would cut through the glaze. So people still ate off their wooden trenchers, and as a wooden trencher is about the best substance I know for holding germs and ferments, people died. In the British Isles in Elizabeth's time when porcelain started to come in, the average length of life was eight years. In the 500 years following 1066, the population had doubled. Families were very large but they died young. As time went on, certain conditions improved. The coming of the Chinese rat, for instance, killed the black rats and did away with plagues in England which used to come every 25 years. So we owe the Chinese a little there.

People began to notice that those who used silver did not die. The children who ate their porridge out of a silver bowl did not die, while the other children who ate out of a wooden bowl did die, in such numbers that it began to make people feel that they wanted something different. Due to a few men, Dr. Dwight, the Eilers Brothers and a few others, we have in England the hard glaze copying the glaze of the Chinese porcelain. Within sixty years after glaze became common, the population of England doubled — and that made the British Empire. That is why we are here today. That is why there were enough people in England to go to the different Dominions, to settle in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the other places. If it had not been for the coming of porcelain, it would have been a very very different world.

Now there is one thing more—tea. In the time of Charles II, tea began to come into use. The people of England knew if they drank water they died. That was just a case of trial and error. If you tried the water you committed the error of dying. Typhoid must have been simply rampant. People drank beer, therefore, which was a boiled drink. They didn't know it was because it was boiled, but they knew if they drank beer they didn't die. Now, tea is also a boiled drink, and people found they could drink tea and drink all they liked of it and not die. So, you have the introduction into the life of England of a non-intoxicating drink that began to take the place of the everlasting drinking of intoxicating beverages.

I wish somebody could make a serious study of how terrible was the effect on England's general affairs of the unlimited drinking. There are some things I cannot account for. Why could England in the 18th century not keep up her currency? Why were Spanish dollars in common circulation in London? Why all these troubles that caused America to break loose? The only way I can interpret it is that the men in charge were so sodden with drink that simply nothing was happening. So we have to welcome tea as one of the great things that came into our civilization.

Well, I have gone through only the high points of what we owe to China. They have been a wonderful people. Take only those things I have mentioned out of our civilization and where are we? Yet, there was no sign in any one case of there being a likelihood of its development in Europe, had it not come in from China.

I put forward this appeal that we, as a people, should do our level best to study the whole Chinese situation, that we should approach the Chinese with that humility which their predominant position in the development of our civilization demands, that we should in every way leave no stone unturned to bring about the most ultra friendly relationship with that great people, and that we should join with them in that very trade which it seems to me nature has made so easily possible for us.

I thank you very much, indeed. (Loud applause.)

President: Dr. Currelly, may I express on behalf of this meeting and those who were fortunate enough to hear you on the air, thanks for your address to-day.

I believe Mr. Augustus Bridle has referred to you as the "David Harum of the Orient." I understand from you to-day that you doubt just what he meant, and you even doubt that he knew himself just what he meant, when he so referred to you. Might I suggest, as David Harum was a philosopher of domestic life on this continent, so you are the philosopher of the Orient. Might I even go further and suggest you are the philosopher of international political economy. We have learned a great deal about what we owe China to-day and we shall be better equipped to face the future and our relations with that vast Empire.

We thank you very much, Sir.

TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE PERCY PEASE

Thursday, 18th February, 1937

PRESIDENT: Today the Empire Club of Canada takes the opportunity of welcoming, greeting a representative from one of our sister nations of the British Empire, the Honourable Percy Pease.

The speed of transportation and communications of these modern times has brought the different nations of the world closer together and we, as members of this great British Empire, can benefit a great deal in the union which is not made more practical among the nations which form that great Empire. We have the opportunity now of cementing that union which is founded on sentiment and common ideals. We can learn much from our sister nations and I know from the very short time I have had delightfully interviewing Mr. Pease, we can learn a great deal from Queensland. The Honourable Mr. Pease will address us today on trade relationships as between Queensland, Australia, and Canada.

Mr. Pease has had an extensive career in public life in Australia and he is well qualified to give us some intelligent survery of the conditions existing now and we hope to have closer relations in the future between our two nations in the British Empire. (Applause.)

THE HONOURABLE PERCY PEASE: Gentlemen, I appreciate the kindness of your Club in giving me the opportunity of saying a few words about Queensland, Australia. I appreciate the kindly greeting extended to me on your behalf by your President.

Now, our State of Queensland is 'down under,' as you say in Canada, to the extent that it take us something like three weeks by boat travel to get to Sydney. It is a state of nearly three-quarters of a million square miles in area, so you can quite understand the problems we have as a government in trying to develop a state such as that. We produce three times more than we can consume under ordinary conditions and, therefore, we must look for a market somewhere to take the surplus that we cannot eat or cannot consume, for the purpose of carrying on, developing our country and paying our way.

Like yourselves, we took part in the Great War. We did it voluntarily and we are not squealing about what it cost us, but it has imposed a tremendous burden on us, the people of Queensland, as well as on the people of Australia, and as it has on you, the people of Canada. It, therefore, has become a necessity that we should try to expand our production so that we may increase the money coming into our State and Commonwealth in order to make good the expenditure on that war. The public debt of Australia apprecaited something like two-thirds as a result of that war debt. What I want to convey is, had it not been for Australia taking part in that war as a unit of the British Empire, the burden to the people of my State and the people of Australia would have been very much less than it is today. I say again, we are not complaining. We realize that as a unit of the British Empire it was our duty to do what we did do during that war, as you in Canada also realize. We appeal to you as a sister Dominion to see our problems and as far as in your power lies to help us. The advantage is mine today of trying to tell you in a few minutes some of our problems and it is for you in turn to see if you can help us in any way. After all, we are all units of the one Empire. So far as Australia and Canada are concerned, we are even closer than that. We are away "down under" in the Pacific Ocean. At Victoria, British Columbia, you are also on the Pacific Ocean and you have to realize whatever happens, whatever develops, whatever takes place so far as any unit in the Pacific Ocean is concerned, you, also, are going to be concerned in any such developments.

Some people tell us in Australia that other nations, not British, may beome antagonistic and may come along and seek to take Australia. One cannot entirely lose sight of such a possibility. That is why we in Australia, apart from sentimental ties, value our association with kindred people in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Moreover our trade policy has been based, in the first place, on encouragement of Empire commerce by means of tariff preferences.

Now, we are quite prepared in my State to take from Canada any goods that you produce that we need. We are not looking to Canada to take from us any goods that you are producing to such an extent that it would embarrass your expansion and your settlers to take similar goods from us. We don't want that.

I want to tell you, so far as our import trade with British Empire countries is concerned, forty per cent of such import, outside of United Kingdom goods, is done with Canada. (Applause.) I am thinking of the United States in this matter because I realize, especially after travelling through the United States, that you are linked up with the States; you are part and parcel of the North American Continent. We take a train at New York and in a few hours we are in Canada. I realize now after travelling as I have done, that Canada and the States are very much linked as regards trade and commerce and development. Now, in respect of Australia's import trade from foreign countries thirty per cent is supplied by the United States of America.

We do not make motor cars in Australia and I want to say that in the whole of the vast Commonwealth of Australia, including Queensland, there is only a population of under 7,000,000 people. There are more than 7,000,000 people in New York City alone. But because of our great distances in Australia and our high standard of living motor cars are very popular but comparatively expensive. There were over 650,000 motor vehicles registered in Australia at the end of last year. In my own State, of over a million men, women and children we have registered over 93,000 motor vehicles. As a result of the preference granted by Australia to Canada under the Trade Agreement of 1931, Canada supplied to Australia last year over 31,000 automobiles which is more than Canada exported to any other country. United States supplied the next largest number, followed by the United Kingdom. Last year the Commonwealth purchased over $30,000,000. worth of new motor cars, principally as I have said, from Canada and the United States.

We have no oil fuel. In my own State of Queensland, we have spent millions of pounds searching for oil. We have not been able to find it. Geologists tell us the history of Australia is that millions of years ago Australia was a part of South America. It broke off, was submerged under the sea for centuries and centuries, then we emerged from the sea. The proof of that they tell us is that when you are travelling through Queensland or throughout Australia, on the highest mountains you will always find sand and sea-shells. In relation to oil, the geologists tell us that whatever oil we may have had millions of yers ago is petrified and is now there as shale. We have in Queensland, I think, the greatest deposit of shale in the world, in proportion to area. You probably know that throughout America and in all other parts where investigations have been made up to date there has not been a solution found whereby commercial quantities of oil might be produced from that shale; that is, any effort to put that shale through a process which would make it fit to use as oil has not succeeded, and our trouble in Queensland and Australia is that we are depedent entirely for our supply of oil from overseas countries, of which the United States is the second largest supplier. In the last twelve months the the Commonwealth of Australia purchased $25,000,000. worth of oil and that oil came, as I said, largely from America.

Now, we have been trying to do something in Queensland to offset that and we have the great cane sugar industry in Queensland. We are the only people in the world who are trying to grow cane sugar under what is called "white labour conditions." In my own State of Queensland we produce £7,300,000, or $35,000,000 worth of sugar each year. It is all produced under white labour conditions. No one is engaged in that industry who does not get a fair rate of wages and they are all white people. We do not employ Asiatics or Indians or any other cheap form of labour, such as I saw being done at Honolulu and Fiji, on my way across here. I am proud that we in Australia have developed that idea over many years because we realize we can only build up a nation with white people. If the time should come and many people throughout the world have said that we in Australia will have to meet aggression sooner than any other part of the British Empire—if the time should come when aggression has to be met—there is one thing that we in Australia are proud of—a hundred per cent of our people are white people and every one of those inhabitants will fight for their own country.

Now, in this sugar industry we have tried to make use of the by-products. In Queensland we have spent quite a lot of money in research to see if it is possible to produce power alcohol from the by-product of the cane sugar. We have succeeded in doing so to a certain extent in one of our sugar mills and in Queensland, by law, 15 per cent of this power alcohol must be mixed with the petrol we import from overseas for use in our motor cars.

However, that is only a small effort. We are trying to develop but, as I say, we owe a lot of money. There is one thing in Queensland, in Australia, we are always proud of. We never repudiate. Whatever we owe we always pay. I had the pleasure of speaking in New York on Australia Day and I pointed out that Queensland was the first state in Australia to borrow money in America. We had to borrow it because we had a lot of people to take care of and we desired as a government to go ahead with loan expenditure. For some reason or other we couldn't get just exactly what we wanted in England, from the Bank of England, and our Premier of the day—it was in 1920—went to the New York Bankers and they loaned him for the Queensland Government a considerable sum of money. Both in America and Canada you certainly drive pretty hard bargains when you have the opportunity and we don't blame you for doing so. Perhaps you are kinder in Canada than they are in the States. In the States the bargain they made with our Premier of Queensland of that time was that we should pay seven per cent for that loan. We should repay it in New York in New York currency and we should provide a sinking fund and all sorts of safeguards that the money would be paid. Now, that was sixteen years ago. We are still paying the seven per cent because we made that bargain and in the time of the financial crisis, which you met here as we had to meet it, we never attempted in any way to ask the Bank in New York to reduce our interest. I had the pleasure of meeting one of the largest bondholders while I was in New York and he told me he would have been quite prepared, had we approached him, to reduce that rate of interest to what may be considered a fair rate of interest today. I say it is the boast of my government and the people of Queensland, Australia, that we never repudiate a contract and we intend to continue the payment of that money on the terms and conditions that we received it. (Applause.)

I am mentioning that to show that in addition to trade relationships, as between my State and the North American Continent there is a relationship in the financial field. Since the State of Queensland went to America for money, other states in Australia and the Commonwealth Government itself have done likewise. In Australia today there are considerable amounts of money invested representing American capital, so that here also is a link between North America and Australia. I think it was a really good idea of our Premier in Queensland in 1920 to come to America to borrow money and extend trade between the United States and Australia. In my own State today we also have considerable investment. In Queensland, of which the capital city is Brisbane, we have semi-state abattoirs; that is, abattoirs in respect of which the State has guaranteed the repayment of the capital invested. The meat works I refer to is one of Swift's, and the capital investment in that particular plant would represent all-American capital.

Well, I am not complaining about that because if our business people in Australia choose to let Swift's come across to my State and invest in the cattle industry, well, we welcome them. As a matter of fact in Queensland, of which I am competent to speak—I am not able altogether to speak on behalf of the Commonwealth because I represent the State of Queensland—in Queensland we do welcome business people, white people, who are prepared to invest their capital and we will give them every opportunity to make decent dividends.

We are supposed to be a socialistic government in Queensland, but we believe in a fair deal to everyone. We believe in giving our people fair wages and good working conditions and we believe in extending those two conditions to the people engaged in business. We believe that those who have invested their capital should receive fair dividends. So long as any business people who are white people come across to Queensland we will welcome them and do everything possible to see that their investments return them sound dividends.

Now, I want to say a few words in regard to the trade as between Canada and Australia, because the main object of my speaking here today is to draw attention to the balance of trade which is heavily in favour of Canada, and in connection with which you, as representatives of the important interests in Canada, probably can give some assistance to our State. For every $5.00 worth that Australia buys from Canada—you notice I am talking in dollars although in our country we don't know anything about them; the only think I know is when I get here I realised rather painfully that for every good Australian pound I had to pay something like a dollar for exchange, for every $5.00 worth of goods we buy from you in Canada you buy $1.75 worth. I ask you, Gentlemen, to consider whether that is at it should be. We have the goods I can assure you we have them, and when I get back to my State I am going to do my very best to interview various trade concerns in an effort to persuade them to send people across here to convince you that we have the goods which you need and which do not compete with your own goods.

Now, our Trade Commissioner here is doing a good deal of work but he is concerned with matters affecting Australia's export trade to Canada as a whole. The Queensland Government, of course, does its best to encourage exports of Queensland goods. Every state in Australia has local autonomy. We, in Queensland, are a very, very big producing country and we must do far better in realizing on the production of our state if we are to expand and I don't think anyone here will say I am stating anything unreasonble when I say the difference as between $5.00 and $1.75 is not a fair proportion.

Not only that but our trade is increasing with Canada. It is increasing every year. Last year our trade with Canada increased to a far greater degree than did yours with us, so we are getting worse. My job here today is to try to enlist your sympathies in an effort to improve this situation, that it may not become worse.

I mention those facts to show you what is the proportion of the difference. Previously, there was a great disproportion and last year the increase in favour of Canada continued unabated. If our buying from Canada continues to increase in this way I don't know what our Trade Commissioner will be doing here later on.

That is the position as regards my own State, for which I am speaking. I realize that today while I am talking to you, your Federal Minister, Mr. Euler, and our Trade Commissioner, Mr. MacGregor, right here in Toronto, are conversing with Commonwealth Ministers in Australia, with a view to evening things up and I certainly don't want to do anything that may embarrass Mr. MacGregor, who is assisting the Australian representatives, or Mr. Euler; but I am competent to talk on behalf of my own State.

My Commissioner of Forests is with me and while we were in Montreal we went along to Three Rivers. When the river is open at Three Rivers shiploads of newsprint go direct to my capital city of Brisbane. Every morning when I open my paper to read, as a politician, and as the politicians here probably do, also, the editorials telling how much better they could run the country than the politicians, every morning when I read the editorials about the faults of the politicians I have to read a Canadian newspaper, that is, the newsprint comes from Canada. Now, I have been to Three Rivers where that newsprint was made and every time I pick up my paper in future I will visualize Three Rivers and Canada. I want to say I hope that the people here will realize that we are buying a great deal from Canada that we are not producing ourselves and buying it, perhaps, at a greater cost than we could buy from some other parts that are not in the British Empire.

Last year in Australia we bought $10,000,000 of newsprint. Now, my portfolio covers also the control of the forests and I have been asked whether it wouldn't be possible in Queensland to develop newsprint ourselves by using the production of our forests and making our own paper over there. Well, in Queensland we are a practical government, we do not believe in doing anything that is not sound, economically. So far as newsprint is concerned, I was able to tell the people who are producing the newsprint in Three Rivers that they need not worry about us, in Queensland, trying to produce our own newsprint. I am quite satisfied that over here you produce it cheaper than we can and we are quite prepared to buy your newsprint and in turn we ask you to buy something from us to even up the trade balance.

Now, since coming to Canada I have had the pleasure and privilege of going through a good many of your Canadian forests. In British Columbia you certainly have in the Douglas Fir a most wonderful asset. I went along from Victoria to Alberni and I saw a shipload of timber. I enquired where it was going and I was told that it was going to Australia. In Queensland we have the Mt. Isa Mining Company which is developing very, very big copper and silver-lead deposits, and those people buy right here in Canada their timber for their mines. A shipload of mining timber goes across every now and again from Alberni or one of your other ports, direct to our capital city of Brisbane, for the Mt. Isa Mining Company, in particular. That is a British company which came with English capital to Queensland some years ago and spent quite a lot of money developing that vast silver-lead mine, away in the interior, working under pretty hard conditions because it was costing a considerable amount of money to transport coke and other materials required for smelting from the coast to the mine. Quite recently they decided they would try to develop their zinc resources. They had not sufficient capital of their own to do so. They approached their bankers in England for an advance of £500,000 to carry out their work with zinc. The bank in England told them, "Very well, we will lend the money if the Queensland Government will guarantee the transaction." We examined the position, as a government, and found how many thousand men were employed in the mine; the value of the conveyance of their goods over the railways was considerable, and my government guaranteed that £500,000. That gave us the opportunity, as you will fully realize, to say to that mine, "Well, we are doing this for you and we have certain control over your timber. Whatever else happens, you should buy that timber in Queensland." But we didn't say that.

We allow them to buy their timber in Canada because it is stated, and I think it is quite correct, that the timber of Canada, so far as mining is concerned, is probably the most durable and satisfactory timber in the world to use. We allow this company, in spite of the guarantee to spend considerable sums of money in bringing timber over from Canada to use in their mines, although we have, perhaps, somewhat similar timber in Queensland.

I am just mentioning that to show you that the spirit of the government is fair. Possibly if that timber were not coming from a British Dominion, such as Canada, we might take other steps.

What we are asking is that as those shiploads go across to our country, when the ship goes back it should bring goods from our country to your country and I am asking that, not on behalf of Australia, for which our Trade Commissioner speaks, but I am asking that on behalf of my State of Queensland, that vast, under-peopled area which the government is trying to develop under all those trying circumstances and I am asking you to do what you can to help us.

As I say, we in Queensland, produce quite a lot of timber. The two states in Australia which produce a lot of timber are Queensland and Western Australia, yet the value of the timber imported into the Commonwealth last year, practically all coming from Canada, was over $8,000,000 worth, so it is quite a good trade for you. I think as you analyze what I say you will realize the interest you in Canada have in Australia and, more particularly, in Queensland.

I was just going through our trade figures to find out what else we bought from Canada and I could speak for quite a long time, enumerating the items. I was reminded that the very watch I wear was made in Canada. Now, what better tribute could you get than that a Minister of the Crown in Queensland has to buy his watch from Canada? That is the position.

I do want to say this, we boast that in Australia and in

Queensland we do try—and when I say "we" I mean politicians—we do try to help the people who help us. I travel a good deal in Queensland, I go from one end of Queensland to the other, at least once a year. I go into the back blocks of my own electorate in which there are miners and all other classes of people, especially the sugar people, and I ask them to remember, if they want to dispose of their surplus sugar and other products they must in return help the British countries that can take our products.

There is one other matter Canada is very much interested in, in particular British Columbia, that is canned fish. We are big canned fish eaters in Queensland because the climate is very, very hot and meat will not keep too long. Now, I could take any of you to the far outposts of Queensland where mining and other industries are being developed and I could show you hundreds of empty tins of canned salmon and herrings and sardines and those people up there are buying Canadian canned salmon and sardines, in preference to buying in other countries that are not British because wherever a Minister of the Crown or a Member of Parliament of Queensland goes he tries to impress upon th people of the district that they in turn can help trade relationships by eating the products of the country we expect to help us.

That is why I am asking you to do what you can for us, individually. Some hundreds of miners asking for canned salmon represent shiploads of salmon leaving British Columbia every year, going to Brisbane and filtering through to the back blocks of Queensland. It is astonishing what individuals can do if they only set out to do it.

Just to illustrate: We had the pleasure of a visit from Mr. Bennett in Australia quite recently, and this very day, Thursday, February 18th, we are fabricating in Sydney, at one of our steel mills, 6,500 tons of steel rails that are going to be used right over here is your Canadian National Railways. (Applause.) That is one way, perhaps, that an individual can help. And whatever else happens, as I say, in helping us you are helping yourselves. You are evening up the balance of trade. Your ships go over with paper and timber and fish and so on, and in turn those ships will bring back rails for your railways and other Australian products. I will undertake to say also that the Directors of the Canadian National Railways are hard-headed business men, they are not paying any more for the rails than they can get them for elsewhere. I will say we will give you a very good quality.

Now, that is what I am asking you to do today—and I know from experience just how much a propagandist can do in any part of the world—I would ask each of you, Gentlemen, to consider what I have said. I don't ask you to wear an Australian watch because I am wearing a Canadian one. I do ask you to remember, please, that we are producing in Queensland and Australia, a number of commodities which you can use over here without any detriment to your own people.

As Minister of Lands, as my worthy confrere here (Hon. Peter Heenan) is, my job is to take care of my own people on the land. These people deserve everything they can get. It is a hard task. No people who develop a country work more than the man on the land. We, in Queensland, are opening up large areas. I have had the privilege of opening up an area with something like 1,200 new settlers every year in my States, during the last five years that I have had the honour to be Minister of Lands. Six thousand new people have gone on our land in Queensland, producing something, and my job is to take care that they have a market for what they produce.

I do ask you, also, to come across and see us sometimes. When I ask people in Canada to come across to see us, they say, "O, it is such a long way distant." Well, the distance is just the same, coming from Australia to Canada as it is going from Canada to Australia. There is no difference in going and coming. Because of the relationships between Australia and Canada, more particularly in the last few years, our people in Queensland,

and in Australia, when they go over to England, are making it their business to come across via Canada. I came across on your Canadian liner, the Niagara, from Australia to Victoria, and I am going bck on the Aorangi. Then we travel across Canada on your railways and see your beautiful country. It is beautiful, there is no doubt about it. We meet your nice people—and you are nice. Wherever I have been in Canada I do say you even up with our people in Australia. (Laughter.) I have met in my travels many men who have been in the Great War and I have found out they were very pally with the Australians. Wherever I have met an ex-digger, as we call them in our country, he tells of the nice friendships he had with our diggers from Australia. When in Paris and other places the Australians and the Canadians had the time of their lives. Now, during the war that fellowship developed and has since continued more closely than in prewar days and I do ask you as people of Canada to help our State. I am not pleading for anything—I don't want anything that we don't deserve. I say, quite unhesitatingly, we will give you the best products of our workmen in Australia. Our men, as I say, are all white people and I say the white man is the man who produces the goods. Whether he works in a factory or wherever he works, you will get from the intelligent white people something the other races do not give. We will give you the goods, and we will give you a good time if you come across. On behalf of Queensland, I ask everybody here to pay us a visit. We will take care of you. I do hope my few words today will develop a kindly feeling for our State of Queensland and for Australia. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: To express the thanks of this meeting and of those listening in on the air, I am going to ask the representative of another unit of the British Empire, the Trade Commissioner of New Zealand, Mr. J. W. Collins, O.B.E., to say a few words.

MR. J. W. COLLINS: Mr. Balfour, and Gentlemen: I feel it a very great privilege indeed that you have asked me, the representative of the New Zealand Government in Canada, to express our appreciation to our guest-speaker today, the Honourable Mr. Pease, Minister of Lands, of Queensland, Australia. I am sure that you have all enjoyed his very educative and interesting address.

I have had the privilege, as a citizen of a neighbouring Dominion, twelve miles across the Tasman Sea from Australia, to know that Commonwealth perhaps better than the majority of the gentlemen in this room. Naturally, our peoples are on most friendly terms.

I know that we all enjoyed what Mr. Pease had to say in regard to Queenland's overseas debt, particularly to the United States. Mr. Pease is a member of a Labour Administration, and it is generally understood, I think wrongly understood, that labour governments are inclined to repudiate and to ask the people who loan governments, perhaps to a former administration at a high rate of interest, to reduce that rate of interest, and I am sure it must have been very illuminating and very satisfactory to this audience to hear Mr. Pease's exposition that Australia and Queensland do not repudiate and are paying the full interest to your neighbour to the south of you on the debt borrowed in 1920. Queensland has set an example to New Zealand. Queensland has had a Labour Government for many, many years and we, for the first time in our history, had a Labour Government elected last year. Mr. Pease will know and probably you will know that our government has the same high principles of administration and the destiny of New Zealand, like that of Queensland under its Labour Government, is safe in their hands.

May I, without further ado. express to you, Mr. Pease, our very, very cordial and grateful thanks for the highly interesting and educative address you have given us today.

THE THEATRE AS A DESIRABLE CULTURAL FORCE

AN ADDRESS BY SIR CEDRIC HARDWICKE

Wednesday, 24th February, 1937

PRESIDENT: Sir Cedric, Gentlemen: It would be idle, Sir, for me to attempt to introduce you to an English-speaking audience. No introduction of mine would add anything to the prestige you have already acquired in your art.

May I, however, extend to you, on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada, a welcome as an emissary of the British Empire in the extension of its frontiers, not in a political sense or an economic sense, so much as in a social sense, and to you, Sir, as one who by subtle methods has extended the propaganda of British culture throughout the whole civilized world. This welcome, I extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada and all who believe in the British Empire as that beacon light on the stormy seas of international strife in this world.

I have great pleasure in calling on you, Sir Cedric, to address us today on the subject: "The Theatre as a Desirable Cultural Force." (Applause.)

SIR CEDRIC HARDWICKE: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I find myself today in an extremely dangerous and responsible position. I must explain to you that I am in the throes of rehearsing a new play. That, in itself, is a very difficult and dangerous work but, in addition to that, the hospitality of Canada has been such that I am tempted to remember the story that was told to me yesterday of a farmer who had been chased by his bull and after he had been around the field three times with his knees almost on his chin, he turned around to the bull and said, "Well, you can please yourself but this is my last time around."

(Laughter.)

Well, Gentlemen, I accepted this invitation to address this Club in the light-hearted way that actors do accept invitations. I was not aware of the responsibility that I was undertaking. I was unaware, for example, that what I had to say to you was being broadcast throughout the country. But if you will accept from a very tired actor, sincerity for profundity of thought, and enthusiasm for wit, then I shall be very grateful to you.

Now, I find myself committed to speak to you on the theatre as a cultural force. Of course you must know by now, all of you, that the only subject on which an actor can speak with any sort of enthusiasm and knowledge is himself but, being denied that, I shall talk to you about the thing that is dearest to me. Perhaps some of you will mistake this for a sales talk. Believe me when I tell you that such is not my intention. I do not wish in any way to emphasize, shall I say, the commercial aspect of the theatre. I am not asking you to come to the theatre this week to see "The Amazing Dr. Clitterhouse," though I shall be very pleased if you do.

What I do want to say with all the sincerity at my command is that I do believe most sincerely that a great deal of the cultural future lies in the rebirth of the drama.

Now, every since I was a boy the theatre has been the ruling passion of my life and ever since I was a boy the theatre has been on its death-bed. I can recall no time in the whole of my career when the theatre has not been, according to the critics, a dead force. Now, of recent years even those of us who have the most profound belief in the theatre have had to realize that we are facing enormous and almost overwhelming conditions. On all sides, the drama, the simplest expression of man, his passions, moods, feelings, character, has been assailed by all forms of mechanical entertainment.

Now, I would be the last person in the world to deny that the motion picture has not been a very, very great benefit. It has provided wonderful entertainment for millions of people who are denied almost all forms of entertainment. The radio, to those people who are unable to go to concerts or attend entertainments has been an enormous blessing, but the fact remains that the theatre, although it has been forced into a much smaller affair, has become through this competition a much better affair.

Now, there are very obvious economic difficulties in the way of the professional theatre. It is fairly obvious that a motion picture which is made, even if at the expense of a very large sum of money, can be seen by millions of people in all parts of the world and there is no extra expense in seeing a great super-production in some little wayside village, once it has been shown in the great cities. Now, to send a first class theatrical company into a town like Toronto involves considerable financial outlay and, of course, the profits are relatively small. So the motion picture has meant that the theatre has been unable to allow its best work to be seen by the great majority of the people.

But this confinement of the drama to the large cities has resulted in the theatre coming to live in other forms. Here, in the City of Toronto this week, you have your Drama Festival. Never has there been such activity amongst the ordinary people in the sphere of the drama as there is today. There is no question about it, the door is open in a city like Toronto to the encouragement of the theatre and it is up to you to make certain that you do not shut the door.

Now, perhaps you will say, "Well, why should we worry about the theatre? What does it matter?" I do claim this for the theatre that it is still, even in its poorest manifestation, a great imaginative art. You see, the theatre depends upon the imaginative co-operation of the audience. The theatre is a form of expression which is available to you all. You make the theatre yourselves. The plays that you do not support do not exist. Whilst you are in the theatre you are as much a part of the artist's materials and works as the members of the cast or the playwright who wrote the play. Without your co-operation the play will not exist.

Now, the motion picture is a thing that is made for you and whether you like it or whether you don't that is played and it is exhibited. It is not a form of expression over which you, yourselves, have very much control.

The theatre, too, depends, as I have said, upon the exercise of the imagination, a faculty which I regret to say is tending very much to disappear. In the greatest of plays it is the negative quality that counts. For example, in a drama a messenger is sent upon the stage to describe in terms of glorious literature and with all the art of the great actor. Now, in the motion picture, of course, you would have the battle shown to you. I am only mentioning this because it does seem to me that the theatre is one of those things that will help to keep imagination alive.

People sometimes say, "O, but the theatre hasn't the scope of the cinema." Nothing could be further from the truth because if you have an imaginative audience and great acting there is no limit whatsoever to what the theatre can tell you. Shakespeare, after all is said and done, ranges almost every form of human activity and the success of his plays was achieved on a bare stage with nothing but glorious literature and the art of the actor.

Now, if the theatre is to die, is to disappear, what will disappear with it? All the great plays of Shakespeare, the plays of Sheridan, the plays of Ibsen. "But we still have them," you will say. True, they remain to be read, but surely almost the greatest tragedy that can happen to any piece of literature is to become a classic and put on the book-shelf to be looked at. That is what happens if the theatre dies. Shakespeare will remain unread, except by a very few people.

If the theatre disappears the question of our language will become very different. It is up to the theatre to keep alive the beauties of our language. The theatre will always help to keep alive the art of oratory, grace of movement, all the human attributes.

You know, I, personally, strongly believe that the theatre in the past has been responsible for many of the great personalities. Is it coincidence, for example, that with the disappearance of the great actor managers of the past, Irving, Wyndham, the Keans, that all the great personalities disappeared from politics and from other walks of life? You may say what you like but there is no question about it, that great actors, great personalities, great personal magnetisms were in the past a great example and people would, I woudn't say imitate them, but they had at least had some sort of ideal to try and live up to.

Now, with regard to conditions in the world today I feel very deeply and I may perhaps be a little out of my depth in speaking about this because I am an actor and because I love the theatre and I don't pretend to know a great deal about international affairs and politics or any of the, shall I say, more important aspects of our life today. But one thing I do feel and that is that so much light reading, with newspapers and motion pictures and all these means of bringing people very simply and very easily the thoughts of others, is encouraging us to live on a higher emotional plane than is good for us. I believe that the little man, for example, who goes off to work in the City, in London, with the newspaper tucked under his arm is not particularly interested in the fact that Hitler has sternly warned somebody about something. You know, all the time his little interests do not lie very much outside his own family and his own affairs. He is forced to become almost hysterical about things which really do not interest him very much.

Let us take this whole question of romance or, as the newspapers call it today, sex. Personally, I think romance is a nicer term than sex. This has been glorified as a wonderfully romantic thing which only means to the ordinary, simple man a very great disappointment and in many cases a great deal of unhappiness.

Now, I claim if we can get back to the theatre, if we can get back some of the beauty and some of the colour of the great plays of the past that we shall be helping these people to live more simple and more imaginative lives, to appreciate the more simple attributes of human nature, rather than stirring them by mass reproductions of, in many cases, very old stories which are provided for them by people who control their commercial entertainments.

Now, I am well aware my address today has been very rambling. I have been unable to think logically or to reason logically. As I explained to you, the only thing that is really back of all I have said is an intense and sincere belief that in the theatre lies a great deal of hope for the future.

You know, I have heard commercial managers in London say, "Well, the only thing that can save the theatre is another war," because during the war, after all is said and done, soldiers on leave and feeling rather depressed and miserable accept almost any form of entertainment, and the theatres had a flourishing time, but I would be inclined to think that the only thing that can save another war is the theatre. That perhaps sounds an extravagant and exaggerated statement. I do believe if we can get people once more to come and listen to the great plays of the past, to hear the great dramatists argue, to listen to their arguments and to listen once more to the beautiful voices, to see the great moments of great actors, I believe we shall do a great deal toward preventing a good deal of the friction and ill feeling that we find around us today.

Now, of course, against that there is the great argument that the motion picture is a greater medium because it is international. That, of course, is true and I believe, too, that if those who control the motion picture industry would realize that responsibility and make films that would break down all the frontiers and bring us altogether into a wonderful fraternal brotherhood, then I believe the motion picture industry would soar right away, almost to the top of all the great cultural arts. Can this ever happen? I, personally, doubt it.

Well, Gentlemen, I find myself with a matinee to play this afternoon and I can only extend to you my apologies for a very, very poor address. I had meant to say so much. I feel that the occasion is one on which I could advance to you very much more sound arguments for the maintenance of the theatre than I have been able to do. But, if you will try and support all the movements that are taking place around you to try and build up the theatre once more as a great force in your community and let the theatre of your community be an exexpression of the community, itself, after all, there is no reason why the dramatist societies in Toronto shouldn't encourage Toronto playwrights, why your theatre shouldn't become the form of expression of your town, where you will give your young citizens an opportunity to learn to speak properly, to walk properly, to become, shall we say, eloquent and articulate and also perhaps occasionally you will allow to be performed some of the great plays in the dramatiic store-house.

I would like to see in some towns some of the beautiful play of Shakespeare performed regularly by amateur societies. I think it is rather a pity that so many of them perform plays already performed freqently by professional companies. Why bother about New York or London successes? Why not try to find new plays or, if you can't, find new plays, find those sort of plays which stupid, commercial managers think are unprofitable and won't develop. In other words, the great plays of Shakespeare, Sheridan, Shaw and Ibsen.

Once more, may I apologize for my very inadequate return for your great hospitality. May I say how proud and pleased I am, in the way I have been received in

Canada. This is my first visit and I cannot tell you how I am impressed by the hospitality and generosity of your citizens. It would be idle for me to say I admire your beautiful city, because apart from travelling in a car from the theatre to my home here, I have really not seen the town at all. As a final word, may I thank you very, very much indeed and say I hope you all will come to the theatre this week. Thank you. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT: Sir Cedric: May I, on behalf of this meeting, and also an behalf of the audience on the air, thank you for your address today. You have given us something new in your observations as to the part which the audience plays in the theatre as distinct from that in motion picture productions. You have given us food for thought in the psychological effect of the striving of amateurs to produce theatrical or dramatic productions, and the reaction which undoubtedly does occur on the actors, the would-be actors, shall I say, in their striving to produce, the improvement in their carriage in their voice, in their manners. We are indebted to one of such great authority for giving us these facts on which to ponder.

May I suggest that I speak on behalf of all who have heard you today and say that we wish for the future of the theatre and for the perpetuation of those ideals of the theatre which you have so aptly expressed to us? We realize the great sacrifice that you have made in coming to us today, particularly when we know your time is taken up with rehearsing for the production in which you are now engaged in this city, and will later open in the City of New York. We particularly realize that, in a few moments, you will be starting another performance before the public, and that you have made a sacrifice in coming to speak to us and for that and all you have given us, we thank you. (Applause.)

CANADA'S PLACE IN WORK FOR THE BLIND

AN ADDRESS BY CAPTAIN EDWIN A. BAKER, O.B.E., M.C.

Thursday, 4th March, 1937

PRESIDENT: We welcome to the head table today, on his first visit, Mr. George McCullagh, President and Publisher of The Globe and Mail. (Applause.)

We also welcome—we have him about as far away as we could place him from Mr. McCullagh—Dr. Welsh, the successful candidate in the East Hastings by-election. (Applause.)

The welcome I especially give today, however, is for those who are interested, and I am sure you are all interested, in the wonderful work being done in Canada for the sightless. At our head-table we have representatives from the Board of the Canadian Institute for the Blind. We have, also, some of the active workers who are sightless and after today's proceedings I am sure you will have the opinion which I now have regarding these gentlemen.

I could very well spend too much time introducing our guest-speaker, Captain Edwin A. Baker, O.B.E., but I am going to ask one who will, perhaps, treat him not as kindly as I, from what he has said by way of joking. I am going to ask Mr. Harris Turner to introduce Captain Baker today. I might say, before I call on Mr. Turner, that he was a member of the famous Princess Pats, and on his return was a Member of Parliament in Saskatchewan and he is now doing wonderful work in publicity for the Blind. (Applause.)

MR. HARRIS TURNER: Mr. President, Members of the

Empire Club: I find myself in rather an embarrassing position here this afternoon. The man I have the honour of introducing to you is my boss. If I get too enthusiastic about my subject, I will be accused of currying his favour and if I refuse to lay it on too thick, I will probably be fired. These are very difficult days for those who feel impelled to speak in the presence of those in authority over them.

This is a meeting of the Empire Club. It was in the Empire's Capital that I first heard of Captain Baker. When I arrived at St. Dunstan's, the famous training school for blind soldiers, I found I had been preceded by two Canadians. One was Mr. A. G. Viets, Vice-President of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, sitting at my left; the other was Captain Baker, and I might say, if the Canadian financiers could make even half as good an impression in the Empire's capital as these two soldiers there wouldn't be the slightest difficulty in floating the largest issue of even the most delicate bonds.

The enemy blew up a mine in front of Kemmel Hill in the fall of 1915. Captain Baker, a young engineer, was sent up to repair the trenches, fix up the wire. It was a difficult, dangerous job, a dirty night and there he lost his sight from a sniper's bullet, but he came back to Canada and since then has had a succession of difficult jobs. He even now holds quite a few of them. He is the permanent representative of the Department of Pensions and National Health, to administer after care for blinded soldiers in Canada. He is Chairman of the Ontario Soldiers Aid Commission. He is a member of the Dominion Executive of the Amputations Association. He is a life member of the Canadian Legion. He is a great many other things. Perhaps his proudest distinction is that he is a school trustee in the village of Forest Hill. He is now all these things. If like the sinful members of the Anglican Church he has left undone some of the things he ought to have done it is simply because he hasn't got that far yet.

Captain Baker is going to speak to you today on "Canada's Place in Work For The Blind." For sixteen or seventeen years he has been Managing Director of this organization. When he speaks of the place Canada holds in the work for the blind he, more than any other individual, is responsible for that position. He holds military honours, the Military Cross, the Croix de Guerre, and he is a Member of the Order of the British Empire. He is the Managing Director of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind and I ask him now to speak to you. (Applause.)

CAPTAIN EDWIN A. BAKER, O.B.E., M.C.: Mr. President, Mr. Wood, and Gentlemen of the Empire Club: Needless to say it is a very great pleasure for me, and I esteem it a very great privilege, to speak to you today.

About twenty years ago a number of us who had little thought of those or for those who must go through this world without sight were serving on the Western Front, and by one kind of an accident or another we had—well, if you like, we had our point of view slightly changed. Then, by way of St. Dunstan's we came back to Canada.

May I pause for just a word about St. Dunstan's. It wasn't so much the technical training that St. Dunstan's gave us as it was the inspiration, the encouragement to stand on our own feet, face our difficulties squarely and undertake to do our part in life. That was the great contribution that we got from St. Dunstan's. The founder of St. Dunstan's was to us the greatest inspiration of all, Sir Cyril Arthur Pearson. He typified all these things and to us who had the opportunity of associating with him he will always remain the greatest Englishman that ever lived.

Then, we came back to Canada and we met here men and women who had lost their sight in civil life. When we began to compare notes we soon came to the conclusion that our admiration must go to many of them who had made outstanding achievements in spite of difficulties, in spite of lack of favourable circumstance, in spite of the lack of facilities which exist today, they had made good and they were a great encouragement to us. Among them were Dr. C. R. Dickson, Dr. Sherman Swift, and many others. Then we began to discuss the facilities existing in Canada. It is true there were schools for the academic and technical education of the blind, located in Halifax, Montreal, Brantford, Ontario, and Vancouver, British Columbia, their purpose being to give academic and technical education to blind juveniles and youth between the ages of seven and twenty-one. For the adult blind however, there were two local institutions in Montreal, the Nazareth Institution for the Blind, and the Montreal Association for the Blind, with some training and employment facilities for the adult blind, and in the City of Ottawa, an organization known as the Ottawa Association for the Blind.

Here, in Toronto, there was the Canadian National Library for the Blind, attempting to carry on a Dominion-wide service through the loaning of embossed books to blind persons, passing free through the mail as a result of the kind offices of Sir William Mulock when he was Postmaster General, and which made Canada the leading country in the world in granting free postage for Braille literature through Canadian mails.

Then we turned our attention to the organization of more comprehensive services for the adult blind of Canada. The Canadian National Institute for the Blind was organized after a year or more of effort and secured its Dominion Charter in March, 1918. In securing that Charter we had the invaluable help of men and women, public-spirited, who threw their time, effort and influence into the balance and in co-operation with us, helped to achieve the launching of the Institute. Mr. L. M. Wood, who is the President of our Institute today was one of those prime movers, and those people have kept up their interest and their numbers have been added to until across the whole of Canada today we have a very large representative group of public, spirited men and women who are co-operating with our blind fellow-citizens on the National Institute for the Blind, on the Central, Western, Quebec and Maritime Division Boards of the Institute, on the Newfoundland Division Board of the Institute, and on the many boards and committees in the larger cities and towns throughout this province and all the way across the country. To the number of some 2,000, they are giving their services freely and unstintingly on these boards and committees. In addition to that we have developed a technical staff, working through the different Divisions in Canada, and the Division in Newfoundland. These technical staffs are responsible for the registration of blind persons, for the extension of services, whether they be ameliorative, training and employment and so on, or for the prevention of blindness.

Now, I would like to take just a few moments to give you some idea of the services. For instance, the first thing we had to do was to register blind people so we might know who they were, where they were, what their condition might be and their need. We have today 8,500 blind people registered and I wonder if you realize that on the average we are registering about 17 new cases each week in Canada. That does not mean that our register is constantly going up by that rate because we must subtract for deaths, recovery of vision through operative treatment, and other reasons.

Then, our services. We serve those under school age by instructing the parents and guardians. To illustrate: not long ago one of our field workers found a child past four years of age whose mother was so fearful that it might hurt itself if it were allowed to get out on the floor that it had been kept constantly in the crib and had never learned to walk or do a thing for itself. Our home teacher was sent to instruct the mother and to help that child to become self helpful. Then, when the blind children arrive at school age we refer them to respective schools for the blind, in order that they may be certain of receiving their education and in co-operation with the Provincial

Educational Department we give instruction to those who are so physically handicapped in addition to blindness that they cannot attend one or other of the established residential schools for the blind. Then, in the case of those who lose their sight in early youth, we often step in and give some encouragement to take additional training, either in the high schools of the country or at a school for the blind. In the case of those who graduate from the schools for the blind we give further training where necessary and undertake to find employment so each graduate as he or she steps out of the school for the blind may in these days have some degree of assurance that there is a helping hand ready to find them a suitable employment opportunity and to help them over any difficulties they may meet with in the early stages of such employment. The big problem for the Institute, however, has been to assist those who lose their sight in adult life. I wonder if you realize that 70 per cent of all blind people in this country lose their sight in adult life from a variety of causes to which I will refer a little later, but these people come from every walk of life. They are a cross section of society as a whole. No one is necessarily immune from the loss of sight. It behooves each and every one of us to take every possible care of our God-given blessing of sight. Those who unfortunately lose it, and after all it is a tragedy in any human life to lose sight, those who lose it look to the Institute for assistance and guidance and it becomes our problem, whether they are 21 years of age, or 30, or 40, or 50, or 60, or 70, to do what we can to make their path a little brighter, to enable them to pick up some fresh interest in life or to continue in some measure the work in which they have been engaged.

Now, you may feel that is not an easy thing to do. You are quite right. This has been a work, if you like, for specialists. No two cases can be dealt with exactly alike. As Mr. Clunk, who is in charge of our Placement Department has so aptly remarked on many occasions, there is no more reason why all blind men should be made broom makers than for all red-headed men to go into the legal profession. So, it is a case of individual service to each and every one, endeavouring to find out what their particular talent may be and we insist that they do have talents because after all if we think of the parable of the talents, we realize that even though we may only have, one, two or three talents, we are expected to apply those talents, to make use of them and that is why we have never agreed with the view that to secure the interest of those who might be interested in assisting us in this work, we should parade the helpless, afflicted side of blindness. We don't believe in that philosophy. Instead, we believe in the positive philosophy that blind people are normal human beings who have been handicapped by the loss of sight and often other disabilities, but they still have some talent or talents and if given opportunity for expression those talents may be usefully applied.

Let me illustrate. First, I have in mind a young man who at the age of sixteen, while playing tennis one evening when it was twilight, didn't see a hard driven ball coming. It smacked him in the eye and he lost the sight of that eye. A little later he was working in an office and a playful office worker—you know, one of these practical jokers—picked up a heavy elastic band, hooked a metal paper clip on it and shot it across the room and hit the man in his one remaining good eye and that was gone. After that I met this lad with his mother. He attended the Ontario School for the Blind a couple of years, then went through University, taking his B.A., and his M.A. degrees. Today, he is one of the valued staff members of the Institute, helping to advise and assist others who have lost their sight.

Then, I think of another young man who, while working in a factory, had an accident and he lost his sight. Today he is back at work in the factory, not on the same job, it it true, but we found another job for him and he is working.

I think of another man who lost his sight along toward middle life and he had had some business experience before. Under the auspices of our Placement Department he was established in a stand, one of these business stands where they sell tobacco, cigarettes and chocolate bars and today he is earning about as much as he did before he lost his sight. He is one of the most self-respecting, independent men in the community, asking for favours from no one and actually holding his head up and carrying on as though nothing had happened. Isn't it far better to have him thus than standing on the street corner with a tin cup. That is what we, as trustees acting for society, are endeavouring to do for those who have been so unfortunate as to lose their sight.

Then, I think of another lad who, at the age of eleven, tried an experiment. He and his companion secured a stick of dynamite. As it turned out it was a very successful experiment. The other lad was killed and this lad lost his sight, also his right arm. Now, ordinarily speaking, you would consider a chap who has lost his sight pretty well a total loss so far as industry goes; or, if he has only lost an arm it is a pretty tough handicap, but the combination seems just about overwhelming. As a matter of fact that lad went through the Ontario School for the Blind and we picked him out and undertook to find a job. I must hand it to the Placement Department, they had had a lot of experience and they succeeded and as a result, any of you who attended or visited the Canadian National Exhibition last autumn and went into the Electrical and Engineering Building, inside of the Prince's Gate, if you went far enough to see the exhibit of the Canadian Institute for the Blind, you would have noticed a drill press being operated by a totally blind young man with his right arm off. He is a regular employee of the Ford factory at Windsor, earning wages equal to the experienced sighted men on similar machines on either side and, lest there should be any misapprehension, doing just as much work. In fact, the first year he came to the

Exhibition he was being supplied with sufficient materials for a full eight hours of work. About two hours before closing time one day I went along and I found that his machine was idle and he was sitting down. I said, "What is the matter? Didn't the supplies come?" "O, yes." "Machine broken down?" "O, no, it's fine." "Tired?" "O, no." "Well, what has happened?" He said, "O, I just got through in six hours." I said, "As a matter of fact, this idle machine and you sitting idle doesn't mean anything to the people who come to see this exhibit. They ask too many questions. It will keep somebody else busy telling them why you aren't working. Now, after this you string it out." That is what he has done since.

Now, I could go on giving illustrations of what blind people can do, what they have done and what, particularly, they are doing today. Let me illustrate in another way the type of service we can give.

You realize as well as I do that all blind people don't live in the cities, they live on farms and out in villages. What can we do there? There are no industries there and we can't set up industries in every town and hamlet, so we send our teachers out in an effort, first, to train them to stand on their own feet. Let me give an illustration. A young woman with three small children lost her sight at the age of thirty-five. She was sitting helpless in her home, she felt that the whole bottom of the world had dropped out from underneath her and she had nothing to do but sit back and wonder what was happening to her family, and wishing all the time she was able to do the things necessary to be done for them. Our home teacher went and the first thing was to encourage the woman to stand on her own feet, to get around the home in familiar surroundings and then to take an interest in what was going on. In the finality, that women was taught to do her own housekeeping, to do her own cooking, to do her own sewing and mending and to look after her own children and, if she had any spare time, she was taught knitting and machine sewing, something she had never done before. If she still found any spare time there was our library service, our talking book service, our radio service and we might even help her to go to the theatre once in a while in the way of recreation. That is what we can do for the women in the country districts.

And for the man in the country district? Yes, there is something we can do for him because I have seen men in the country districts who found they could keep so busy doing the chores around the barn, feeding the stock, milking, clearing stables, cutting wood, splitting and piling, carrying water, doing the hundred and one jobs that some one must do around every farm and in addition keeping gardens, that they didn't have any time to worry about their troubles.

In fact, I came across a rather good example of the ingenuity of a sightless person on a farm during the past summer. You remember, some of you, that it was quite warm last summer. Down in a certain district east of Toronto there were a number of people who had strawberry beds. Now, those who went at the things in the old fashioned way got up in the morning, had breakfast, and having done the few chores around the place, decided to go out and weed the strawberries. They got nicely started when the sun beat down altogether too hotly on their heads; they had to give up and go in the house where they moaned about the loss of their strawberry crop. Not so this young man, who also had a strawberry bed. He went out the first day and found it was as the others had found, too hot, so he went back and he went to bed. At night, after the sun went down he got up and went out and weeded his strawberries. In that way he overcame what seemed to be a bit of difficulty for the others. Now, I ask you, do blind people, after all, lack ingenuity?

Thus, we carry on with our services throughout the country. Now, we come to another point in this whole field of service and that is the question of those who are not capable of working. Well, you say, why shouldn't they be able to? Well, for one reason, some are past seventy years of age. We have now a system across Canada in each of the nine provinces, a system of old age pensions and these apply to blind persons just as to sighted persons where the individual is otherwise eligible. In addition to that we are still called on to render ameliorative services to those over seventy, through our library books, or through talking book machines which we assist them to get, and through the records which we stock in our library department and mail free of charge to them so they may secure the most modern books. As fast as we can secure the stocks they may borrow them and read them in this very modern way and with a great deal of pleasure.

Then, those under seventy. Well, many of you have heard of a condition or ailment, known as arthritis. In some cases arthritis in its severest form may cause blindness but you will realize that the crippling effects of arthritis are actually serious and when added to blindness it makes the individual practically incapable of performing any sustained work or work that calls for much effort.

Also, you have heard of certain types of kidney trouble and Bright's Disease, certain types of heart condition and these may, in certain instances, cause blindness. Diabetes may, in some instances, cause blindness. Certain types of head troubles, such as tumours on the brain, may cause blindness. Such conditions are responsible for disabilities and, in addition to blindness, makes the person unemployable and for such it becomes necessary for us to continue to give occupational services to develop their interest and keep them occupied, with possible earnings. We could never count on making them self-supporting. For that reason, fourteen years ago we approached the Government of Canada and had discussions with each of the Provincial Governments, with the result that after fourteen years of effort—educational, if you like—presenting all possible facts and logic coupled with statistics on blindness in Canada, and with records of condition, the number we have been able to re-establish, and showing the remaining group we could not help through employment to economic self-sufficiency, it has now been decided, or at least it is in process of being dealt with by the Dominion House of Commons, that pensions for the blind shall be made available to those persons between forty and seventy years of age who are blind within the meaning of the Act and who are eligible in other respects. Thus, this group of unemployed blind persons who are unemployable, are to be cared for in that way, but it still means that the Institute must continue to assist with ameliorative, training and occupational services so they may not become the victims of morbid despondency, since the pension at most will only be about $20. per month. They may, therefore, be enabled to supplement to some extent through their own earnings.

Now, I wish to touch briefly on another phase of this question. That is the prevention of blindness. You see, the world, according to our records, has had man living on it for at least a million years and all down through the ages wherever we can trace records at all, we find reference to blind people. At the present time there is something in excess of 2,000 millions of population in the world. There are also, according to the best records we can secure, over 3 millions of blind people. In Canada, we have a population now approaching 11 million. We have a blind population of approximately 9,000. In other words, in Canada our average is about 1 to 1,200 of population. This same average is fairly constant throughout the English-speaking part of the British Empire. It now becomes our problem to consider for humanitarian, economic and other reasons, the prevention of blindness wherever possible. We have made some strides but we still have a long way to go. As one problem after another in connection with our services to the blind has been solved we have turned our attention increasingly to the prevention of blindness because, as I pointed out earlier, blindness in any case is a tragedy in any human life, apart from its effect on the economic capacity of the individual and on the community in general. Now that we have social legislation we feel we may reasonably hope for even greater co-operation from the state and from all other agencies as well as the public in general, in dealing with with we consider to be a most important question, that of prevention of blindness.

Now, Gentlemen, I feel I have taken sufficient of your time but just in conclusion, I do want to say this, that we have achieved certain progress in the last eighteen years in Canada, as against the thousands of years that went before and during which there was very little development in the way of services or consideration for the adult blind. Now, we have brought the problem very much to the fore. Now, that we can put our finger on it and we can define it, it seems to us we are in a much better position to not only solve the problem of blindness in so far as it is humanly possible for us to do, but that we must now accept the responsibility of attacking the question of saving sight. We know so much more about the subject now and the people of the country are beginning to realize. So I say at the moment, with our National Council and all our boards and committees and with all those thousands of men and women and, yes, younger people, that are taking an interest in this work, that we are now turning our faces forward, looking to the next few years in Canada, when we hope to develop a prevention of blindness service that will be second to none in the world. We, at the present time, within the British Empire, are working in the closest possible co-operation with all other parts of the Empire. We have splendid co-operation from our friends in the United States and through the International Association for the Prevention of Blindness we are securing data from all parts of the world, but we have found it is necessary for us to develop our own programme designed to meet Canadian conditions and needs. If we can develop a successful programme here that will prevent practically all preventable blindness, then we will have made a contribution not only to the life of Canada but to the Empire and to the whole of the world. We have an efficient staff, the people of Canada are behind us and we hope, Gentlemen, that the next few years will tell a very important story in the life of our work, in the life of Canada, in the care of blind people and in the prevention of blindness.

Thank you. (Hearty applause.)

President: Captain Baker, may I, on behalf of all who have heard you today, express our thanks for this very fine exposition of the work being done for the blind in Canada under your leadership. If I might add anything to what you have said, Captain Baker, I would simply like to say that your work, while being an inspiration for the blind, is also an inspiration and a lesson in fortitude to those of us who have our physical faculties. I think we have all profited by this wonderful lesson you have given us today and I thank you very much.

(Applause.)

EUROPE 1937 PROSPECT AND RETROSPECT

AN ADDRESS BY HAROLD MACMILLAN, M.P.

Thursday, 11*th March,* 1937

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: I have the honour of welcoming on behalf of the Empire Club of Canada and of introducing to you Mr. Harold Macmillan, M.P., of London, England. Mr. Macmillan is the joint Chairman of a great publishing house which bears is name. Although a young man he has had a distinguished career already. He was educated at Eton and, proceeding from there to Oxford University accepted the call of the Great War and enlisted with the Grenadier Guards. While in service in France he was wounded three times. Mr. Macmillian is no stranger to Canada having been aide to the Duke of Devonshire during his terms as Governor-General. In the British House of Commons Mr. Macmillan is a Conservative; that is, he goes by that label, but his strength of character and purpose does not restrict him from being the champion of any cause which gains his fidelity and sincere support. He is a writer and has made valuable contributions to the literature of economics and sociology. He is in the British House of Commons one of the most promising and brilliant of the younger members.

I have much pleasure in calling on Mr. Macmillan to address you on the subject, "Europe 1937—Prospect and Retrospect."

MR. HAROLD MACMILLAN: Mr. President, Gentlemen: Yesterday, I spent a troubled day in New York, discussing with various legal and financial advisors the effects of the rather complicated new taxation system upon certain interests which effected me. In the course of my discussion one of my advisors said to me, "I suppose you are a N.R.A.?" I said. "What does that mean?" He said, "A non-resident alien." (Laughter.) And I gather that that category is regarded as about the lowest of God's creatures.

Next in order, I suppose, comes the peripatetic English politician. How well accustomed you must all be to that type! The man who because he is regarded in the Old Country as a bore or a crank, or both, who cannot collect an audience, as a last resort sets out upon a world tour. He begins the trail of desolation in the Mediterranean and there isn't a port or naval base from Gibraltar to Alexandria that doesn't echo with his platitudes. The Red Sea becomes the more oppressive for his presence. At Aden he spreads havoc and dismay. After a few weeks in India he explains to people who have spent a life time in that work the art of governing native people. Then, through Australia he pursues his chattering way. If he can find a corn anywere he treads on it. If there is any kind of thin ice to be found he plunges bravely on to it. He comes across the Pacific to your hospitable shores. From west to east, from Vancouver to Halifax he goes, lecturing, talking, lunching, dining, always imparting information, never willing to listen to any. He blusters his way across three thousand miles, then, at last, having offended every sensibility and reopened every wound he gets back to the Old Country and the first thing he does is to add the Prime Minister to his list of victims and he besieges Downing Street and, finally, by a mixture of bullying, flattery and cajolery, he at last secures a K.C.M.G., for services to Empire.

Gentlemen, it is indeed a tribute to the strength of the ties that bind together the free nations of the British Commonwealth that they are able to stand such strains and stresses as these. Nevertheless, there may be somewhere a breaking point and I am very willing to play the role, as it were, of the last straw that breaks the camel's back. Therefore, when I received the kind invitation of your President, I am bound to say I was very hestitant and even reluctant to accept it. Indeed, I should hardly have dared risk being cast into this category except that I have some personal relationships with Canada that made me feel I was coming at least among friends. First, I have a long business connection through the Macmillan Company of Toronto, Canada, which is presided over by one of your former Presidents, my friend, Mr. Eayrs. Secondly, I have lived here for a year, in the year 1920 to '21, when I served a man, not only the most generous of chiefs, but the most modest, genial and, I think, devoted of the many Governor Generals who have served Canada. Lastly, it was in the course of that year that I met my wife and I have always attributed to the genial, rosy atmosphere of optimism which pervades the great Dominion that a marriage which has led to sixteen years of happiness, started in this country.

Now, Gentlemen, I have undertaken a very difficult task and I am going to ask you to realize that in what I have to say, necessarily, from the mere limitation of time, almost every point to be made at all needs to be overstated, but there are limitations and reservations that a more careful treatment of the subject would need; but I am neither so conceited nor so ignorant as not to know I am only presenting a very personal view, one which may not be shared either here or in the Old Country.

The history of modern Europe begins with the Treaty of Versailles and, in spite of many faults, I think that perhaps that Treaty has been unduly criticized. It compares favourably with the Treaty made in Paris, after the war of 1870 and I can't help sometimes saying to my German friends that it compares favourably with the Treaty that might have been made in London by Hindenburg and Ludendorff. The territorial structure of the Treaty is not seriously challenged by Germany today. There has been an official withdrawal of any claim to Alsace-Lorraine, which is much the most important territorial change in Europe as a result of the War.

No, the two great mistakes of Versailles were not territorial but psychological and economic. First, I think, we made the mistake of imposing upon the Germans who signed the Treaty the war guilt clauses which made them recognize the so-called guilt of Germany in originating the War; but the Germans who signed the Treaty were not the Germans who made the War. Alas, there was no German Napoleon upon whom, as in 1815, the onus of responsibility could be laid and there was no German Talleyrand to play the part in moderating the necessary concessions that a defeated country must make. I think the war guilt clauses have done a great deal of harm because they were really childish in character, and it is also a mistake, I think—(I was going to say even a schoolmaster would admit) you would either give a boy what used to be called a 'jaw' or beat him, but not both. The economic ill effect of Versailles is due much more to the effect of the Treaty as it applied to south-east Europe, than, as applied to Germany proper, in its original form. As a result of the slightly pedantic Wilsonian importance given to national or racial divisions the main result might be summed up as this: that Europe went into the war with seventeen sovereign states and came out of the War with twenty-six sovereign states. What was the effect of that? It broke up from an economic point of view certain units like the Austrian Empire and has led enormously to the increase of what we call economic nationalism, the main curse of the modern world.

Secondly, the reparation clauses—for which the politicians, I think, have been unduly criticized since they were the result of what is called the experts. The reparation clauses have had this harmful effect. Those financial experts who are here will forgive me if I criticize a part of the community to whom all of us ultimately have to have recourse—I mean the bankers. The experts solemnly produced a report to say that two thousand millions of wealth could be transported from one country to another, called reparations. I know sometimes people say they wouldn't like to live in a priest-ridden country, but at any rate, priests understand theology. My criticism of bankers is that they don't always understand economics. Of course, the attempt to transfer wealth broke down and the real harm of reparations is not that Germany paid reparations—as a point of fact, Germany borrowed during the whole reparations period more money than she paid out—but the fact that it broke down the whole confidence in the working of the financial system of the world. It caused in Germany the inflation which destroyed the existing social structure of Germany, it produced in Germany the isolation complex, the feeling of being bullied and harried and it produced, arising from that, the anti-Semitic complex, the feeling that somehow one class of the community had escaped the general ruin, and it endangered and finally destroyed the democratic, liberal constitution, known as the Weimar Constitution. That was the real effect of the economic clauses of the Treaty. Leading from that it led to the greatest creditor country in the world, America, indignant about the money she had lost in the war debts and still more indignant as a result of the money that was lost in the loans to Europe after the War, retiring from the natural duty of a creditor country and shutting herself up in a financial isolation, now strengthened by legislation called the Johnson Act. For the same reasons of ignorance of the only possible working of a world economic system, a country at once refuses payment of debts in the only form in which wealth can be transferred, that is goods and services, and at the same time blames the debtors for repudiation; and let us remember, our friends over the border have not been the only country guilty of that contradiction.

Therefore, arising from all that I think we must recognize that it is not only the authors of the Treaty of Versailles, dangerous as were those results, not only the authors of that Treaty sinned in 1918, but those who have been responsible for foreign policy in the eighteen years that have passed since that time, years which should have been devoted to the curing and avoiding of some of the ills.

In my opinion, the conduct of the foreign policy of England has been unimaginative, procrastinating and, to some extent, futile. A temperament like that of the Prime Minister is admirably adapted to internal difficulties, where good temper and delay and a good English handling of the best sort is required, but he has not had the gifts that were necessary to deal with so difficult and complicated a problem and the result is, I think, and I am only stating my own opinion, while English public opinion today is bitterly hostile to the present government of Germany, to Nazi Germany, it also feels a certain responsibility for having to some extent created this government which it fears.

There were, after all, two possible courses after the War. One was to annihilate Germany; the other, to conciliate her. A series of occupations of the Ruhr, of preventive wars might successfully have done the first, France, unhampered by England, left to herself, might have done this or, England, unhampered by France, following the natural and traditional instincts of English policy might have recognised German grievances, treated her generously and so established in power and kept in power the democratic German constitution.

Now, remember, it was only in 1932 that that was overthrown. In 1932 Dr. Bruning was still Chancellor. Had some concession been given to him in many of the things which now Germany has done on her own, he might still have been able to hold a free Germany. Locarno was of importance because it was the only attempt in those years to get English and French policy agreed on a policy of conciliation. It led at last to the fall of Briand and the triumph of Poincare. But even as late as 1932 we could have come to terms; but between us, French and English policy have cancelled each other out and we are left with this nightmare for which we are, I think, partly responsible.

The same dualism in Anglo-French policy has produced our joint humiliation by Italy and the great blow to the League that followed the conquest of Abyssinai. If it had not been for the fear of the now rearming Germany, France would not have betrayed England, Mr. Laval, perhaps naturally, felt that in the difficult situation in which France was placed they couldn't afford to isolate themselves from Italian opinion in view of the increasing German menace. As the result, I do feel that England suffered last year a grave humiliation in the Mediterranean which, after all, we have held since Nelson. We appeared to be in a hesitant position and, much worse, the blow to the whole League system is leading to an increasing tension in Europe.

Onto this sea of troubles comes the Revolution in Spain and here, I think, we may take a real gleam of hope because I think the success of the non-intervention policy or the partial success of the non-intervention policy, the willingness of the rival powers to limit their intervention to what has already been done is really a mark of the shrinking back of powers from what appeared to be the edge of war. Somebody said to me the other day that the Spanish situation had postponed the danger of war. I asked why. I was told it was because war found that the Russian-French armament was so superior to what the Italian-German experts believed it to be. That is a rather cynical view. I think it would be more true to say that nations and governments rode up to the brink, looked over, and have been willing to find some excuse to save their face, to shrink back again. There, I do think the Foreign Secretary's management and leadership of the non-intervention policy has been eminently successful.

Nevertheless, the Spanish situation has produced another evil in our country. Some forces are trying to make us all take sides, to be either for Franco or for Cabellero, or for the Rebels or the Loyalists, as if we had to decide, necessarily, between Communism and Facism, as if there were no middle course.

And we are now left (and I beg of you, cling to it) we are left almost alone in the world upholding the old traditional rights of free and self governing people. Nor do we admit that all these evils arise from a system equally derided by Hitler and Mussolini, a system of parliamentary reform which is liberal in the broadest sense. We say, at least it seems clear to me, it is just because in Spain neither the relations between Church and State or aristocracy and people or master and man or landlord and tenant hve been submitted to that long series of progressively enlightened adjustments to changing conditions which we call reform. Just because over three centuries there has not been this broadening tradition of perpetual readjustment of our policies to new and changing problems that at the end it has brought about this frightful conflict between violence on the right and revolution on the left.

You may say all this is old history and what of future policies? Why rake up the past? Why reciminate about the mistakes that have been made?

I was playing bridge in a club the other day and a young man happened to draw the same partner in three rubbers. He was a rather peppery chap, who played exceedingly good bridge and he took the mistakes of his partner rather hard. After losing three rubbers, almost entirely due to his partner's errors, my young friend couldn't help saying—I think he revoked in the last hand—he couldn't help saying, "Well, General, I don't like bothering you, but I really must ask why you played that particular card." The General said, "O, my boy, I hate post mortems." "Well," said my friend, "that is what murderers always say."

And I think very often in life when a situation has been reached that has become intolerable those who have largely created it turn around and say, "Now, you solve it." Well, I won't claim, and it would be a rash man who would claim that the European problems can be solved today.

One or two more things, if I am allowed the time. I would like to say rearmament is not a policy in itself but it is the inseparable condition, in my opinion, of any foreign policy. Now, the unilateral disarmament, which is what we have followed since the war, has proved a mistake from every point of view. It has not led other nations to imitate us. It has merely led them to think that England was down and out and whatever policy you are going to follow I will say it seems to me you must have a strong and powerful Empire in which England must play the leading role as the foundation of such policy. The only policy which would allow you to do without armament is the policy which England will always respect as on opinion—I mean non-resistance—(and I remind you that it was respected throughout the last war as an individual opinion, of what we called the conscientious objector,) but it will never be followed as a policy. Therefore, rearmament is the foundation of and an inseparable condition of any foreign policy a British Government can follow.

Now it seems to me that really at the present time in English opinion, as far as I can judge it, there are two views, two main divergencies of view. There is the isolationist policy, the people who say, "Let us keep out of Europe. Let us have nothing to do with these peoples and develop our own life in our own way." The isolationist, and I expect you have isolationists in Canada, in England seems to me to be making just the same mistake, although there is much less excuse for it, as the isolationists of the Empire. Isolation is a very good defence against chicken pox; it is a very bad defense against invasion. Great Britain, geographically, is part of Europe. Spiritually, it is part of the European tradition just as is the New World, since the whole tradition of the Roman Empire, of Christianity all our civilization is based upon the European tradition and it is impossible, I think, for us on any ground to absent ourselves altogether.

More than that, a rich, some think over-rich, a powerful, some might think fat, or over-fattened power, cannot afford to be isolationist. The rich have a greater vested interest in a police system than the poor. If England is willing to shed her Imperial position, to give up her claim to half the world, then she may afford to be isolationist. But with jealous eyes upon her trade, her financial situation, I think she would be foolish to pursue a policy which if it were not to be a mere pacifist policy would demand a degree of rearmament which would make her able to fight the world alone.

It is interesting to note that this division runs right across party. There was a very interesting debate in the House of Lords the other day. The isolationist position was put forward by Lord Beaverbrook, by Lord Arnold, who is a member of the Labour Party, and by Lord Ponsonby, a member of the Labour Party, but I think the generally accepted English opinion to isolate ourselves wholly from Europe would be impossible and unwise and the real division is now, I think, rather one of emphasis than of theory. Shall we make only limited and stated commitments in certain parts of the world, or shall we try and rebuild the wider commitment which we call the League of Nations? Are we to have just one perfectly clear statement that an attack on France or Belgium would be treated by England as a case of aggression, or are we to go further and associate ourselves further with an attempt to build up under the League, a world system of collective security? The advantages of a limited commitment are obviously great. The immediate danger is Germany; it may therefore be an advantage if it is known what England will do in certain stated circumstances and thereby avoid the uncertainty of 1914 that some think may have helped to cause the war. Nor does it preclude England taking a part in questions that arise beyond the mere limited commitments of a definite western pact. But I think the disadvantages are also great but it is practically saying to Germany, "You may do as you like in the south or the southeast of Europe, as long as you don't do it on the west of Europe." It is to break the peace in one part of the world by saying we are not interested in that part of the world and it may allow to be built up against us, stage by stage and step by step, a very formidable combination in Europe, as formidable as the old middle Europe which the German-Austrian powers had at the beginning of the War. Moreover, the small nation in Europe is practically being told that she is to be abandoned. They are already suspicious, after the fate of Abyssinia, and you may find that in the long run, and I am assuming all through for the purpose that these are dangers which you may have to face, you may find in the long run you have to face without allies, without the concerted support of the members still members of the League, you may have to face a situation sooner or later which you would have done better to have faced with greater courage at an earlier moment. (Applause.)

Therefore, I feel myself, difficult as it is to judge, that the wisest course and the least dangerous course and certainly the most moral course is to put ourselves back at the leadership of the world, back to some sense of responsibility and decency in organizing a new world system; to build on what we have got; not because the League has failed, to say it is no good, but to say, here at any rate are the existing members of the League who combine themselves to assist each other in case of danger. And remember, if we had had in the beginning of the war, if not the assistance by way of armament, the assistance by way of friendly neutrality of some of the smaller countries of Europe, we would have been able to bring the war to an end two years earlier by more effective blockade. I would say, let us not abandon the League becuse some great powers go out. Let us make it clear to the great powers that by standing by the system of collective security we are forming a club that is always open to anyone to join. We are not making an alliance against Italy, Germany, Russia, or any other nation. We are forming a society which they may join at any moment, really a collective security for peace and not an alliance for war.

But, you will say, that is so much hypocrisy, you are asking members to join who have grievances. Then, I would say, let us have a free and frank discussion of those grievances. Let us have a new world conference and let England take the lead to call it. Let us see what are the grievances, in the treaties, the wrongs, if they are wrongs, that need to be righted, and let the powers that feel themselves aggrieved stipulate openly and in conference what remedies they want for the preservation of world peace, based upon fairness and equity. Let the powers that call the conference, the existing powers of the League guarantee, themselves, security, at least during the sittings of these conferences. Let there be as many fact-findings commissions on all questions of finance and tariffs and trading conditions and raw materials as can build up the basis of an equitable settlement for the world. Then I think England, having shown herself willing to rearm, to expend the money and divert from many more useful economic enterprises so much of her energy and wealth, having shown to the world that she is not afraid, she ought to afford to be generous, and I think we ought to go back and I believe the Foreign Secretary intends to go back to making the League the basis of our policy; but not sticking in a pedantic way to every written letter and word or the present covenant, but taking the spirit of the League and saying to Europe in this crisis, "Here we are in an acute situation, on the surface as near to 1911, 1912 and 1913 as can be. Can we not, before some crash which none of us want, which those of us over there know may bring final destruction to civilization, can we not sit down and state on what basis it is we would be prepared to live amicably together?" You may get a refusal, you may get hesitancy, and grudging acceptance, or you may get an acceptance upon which you would put no confidene.

Gentlemen, I will finish what I have to say. Let us remember in politics, especially Imperial politics, there are always two problems. We have to find a policy the best we can find under the circumstances, not the best in the world, the best under the circumstances which exist today. I think those circumstances are far worse than they might have been had Germany been more wisely handled during the last fifteen years, and we have to find a policy that commands the maximum of support, both in England and in the Empire. England and the Empire are formidable when they are united. If they are divided half and more than half their power is gone. In 1914 a united Empire took up the challenge. In our country today, I am not saving rightly or wrongly, part of our people, looking perhaps to the past, the traditional patriotism of the country, will be lead, if necessary to make sacrifices for the idea of England's safety and her possessions; part of our people, taking a slightly different view of the emphasis on these problems are prepared to make sacrifices for a moral idea of a new society in Europe and the world. If combined nothing can stand against them. If they are divided you may get a split in British opinion and Imperial opinion which will prevent us having that weight which united we can make. I am certain the policy of His Majesty's Government in England, and I believe the policy of His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions is to try and develop a policy which will unite the maximum support of their own fellow citizens, as well as give the maximum of hope for the getting through what must be two or three dangerous and difficult years. (Applause, prolonged.)

PRESIDENT: Mr. McMillan, may I, on behalf of this large meeting of our membership, and also on behalf of those who have heard you on the air, express our thanks for this wonderful address. I think you have confirmed the belief of many, and created the belief in many others, that a policy of isolation for the British Empire or for any unit of the British Empire is impossible. We have learned a great deal to strengthen that viewpoint today.

We have also learned to strengthen our faith in the British Empire as that great power for peace and goodwill in the world in the way you have described it today.

I thank you, and I thank you for the new significance you have given the initials, N.R.A. If we have had a fair sample today of what we can get in the future in the Empire Club under the initials, N.R.A., non-resident alien, I say more strength to the N.R.A.

CIVILIZATION AND THE CAVE MAN

AN ADDRESS BY COL. THE HON. HERBERT A. BRUCE, M.D., LT. GOVERNOR OF ONTARIO

Thursday, 18th March, 1937

PRESIDENT BALFOUR: May it please Your Honour, the constitution of the Empire Club demands today something in the nature of a business meeting which will take a very few moments, before we are on the broadcast. This business we have in hand is the appointment of the Committee for the purpose of nominating officers for the ensuing year. I therefore would be pleased now to have any suggestions for these nominations.

CAPT. CAMERON: Mr. President, may I present the following names to form the Committee for nominating the officers and Executive Committee for the ensuing year:

Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.,
Mr. J. F. M. Stewart,
Dr. E. Clouse,
Mr. George D. Davis,
Mr. W. M. Hargraft,
Mr. L. Junkin,
The President, Mr. G. Balfour and the Hon. Secretary, Mr. H. F. Powell, will be ex-officio, members of this committee.

MR. G. BISHOP: I have pleasure in seconding the motion.

CHAIRMAN: Any further nominations? If not, I declare the following gentlemen elected by acclamation.

(Specified list above.)

CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we are doubly honoured at this meeting by the attendance of His Honour, the Lt. Governor, and the Honourable the Chief Justice of Ontario. We have had in this Club in the past, visits from His Honour, both formal and informal, and have always derived great pleasure and benefit from them. This is the first occasion on which we have had a visit from the Chief Justice of Ontario since his appointment to that high office, (Applause) an appointment which I might say is the pride of the Bench, the satisfaction of the bar and to the everlasting credit of the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

It is peculiarly fitting that the visit of the Chief Justice of Ontario should coincide with the visit of His Honour the Lt. Governor. As you all know the Chief Justice acts for the Lt. Governor in his absence, and had by any chance the Lt. Governor not been able to address us today, we would have been quite ready to accept this substitute. In fact, I had almost thought of stooping to a subterfuge in order to get the Chief Justice to address us by such connivance with His Honour.

I also welcome to our head-table among our distinguished guests, other Justices of the Supreme Court, the Honourable Mr. Justice Masten and the Honourable Mr. Justice Henderson. We much too rarely have visits from the Judiciary, and I might say publicly now they are always welcome and will find a seat at the head table. (Applause.)

We are now to have the honour of hearing an address by Col. The Hon. Herbert Alexander Bruce, the Lt.-Governor of Ontario. The subject will be more lucid after he begins than it may be to some now, "Civilization and the Cave Man." Your Honour!

COL. THE HON. HERBERT A. BRUCE, Lt.-Governor of Ontario:

Mr. Chairman, Your Lordships, Distinguished Guests, Gentlemen: I am very happy on this occasion to know that the Chief Justice of Ontario has made his first official visit to this Club and done me the honour of coming here on the occasion when I am to give an address. I would like to say that I join in supporting all the kind words which you have said, Sir, in regard to the present Chief Justice of Ontario.

Three years ago at a Centennial luncheon I had the temerity to mention that there were slums in Toronto. A few months earlier men had been discovered in the Don Valley which runs through the heart of this modern city. What were they doing there? *Living in caves*—caves dug with their own hands out of the sides of the valley. The choice between slums and vile housing on the one hand and caves on the other had been decided in favour of caves. Better to be a caveman than a slum dweller in Toronto. Some of those men were veterans of the Great War. The time has passed when it would have been necessary to speak of the *necessity* of slum clearance and housing.

It is admitted on all sides that a large number of families, for the most part of British stock, are inadequately sheltered in this City and compelled to live under conditions which make a healthy homelife impossible. These families are almost certainly little short in number of *three thousand*. In addition there are a number of families scattered over the city living in dwellings which militate against standards of health and morality. There are no exact figures of the numbers here, but the cumulative evidence points to a much larger number than is sometimes suspected, owing particularly to the doubling up of families which still exists in some thousands of cases and to the fact that in many hundreds of instances, families have to take in lodgers in order to supplement their resources. It must also be borne in mind that the demand for houses at a low rental will certainly increase in the near future, not merely because of the natural increase of the city's population, but because better times mean that families who have hitherto been compelled to share their homes with others will now be in a position to maintain separate dwelling units. On the whole, it seems reasonable to expect that the city will need an additional 2 or 3 thousand dwellings within the reach of the lower grades of wage earners each year for the next four or five years.

The supply of these dwellings raises obvious difficulties which should be fearlessly faced by all good citizens. In the first pace, money must be expended on the demolition of the unfit dwellings, involving in some cases some compensation to the owners. The land must be purchased and laid out with a view to re-housing at least the same number of people as have been displaced. The rising standard now required for health and efficiency in connection with the housing of the people must be met. It must be borne in mind that this standard inevitably rises as the culture and prosperity of the city increases and plans must be made today for building dwellings which will place a high standard twenty or thirty years hence. There is also the effect on neighbouring property and the claims of property owners to be considered. Possibilities of unfair competition with dwellings offered for rent in neighbouring streets must be avoided. It is not likely that the neighbouring properties will be depreciated in value by an improvement of the worst streets close to them; they are more likely to rise in value. But there is always some danger of inflicting temporary hardship on the owners of property of this character. Problems of planning and supervision and later of administration also present themselves and must be faced in a liberal spirit. There are certain principles which appear to be supported by practically a universal experience in connection with all these problems. In the first place, the immediate expenditures should be shared by the governments responsible for the country and province and city, respectivly, and not laid as a burden upon any one. The cities are usually called upon to make certain initial sacrifices, often in the way of remission of taxes and sometimes by loans of money at a cheap rate in order to facilitate the additional building. At the same time, the burden which will fall upon the taxpayers will be, unquestionably, offset by gains which will become more and more obvious in the future. There will be an immediate diminution of the relief burden in all its forms including the heavy relief of unnecessary sickness, due, on the one hand, to improved employment among many of the persons concerned and, on the other, to the improvement of the health and morale of the families housed. Experience seems to have shown that no form of public works is so remunerative and so effective in its direct results as expenditure upon housing. It is found that when once begun the movement for improving the structural conditions, where such improvement is most needed, leads on inevitably to an improvement all through the city and to additional building in districts not directly concerned. For reasons which have not yet been fully discovered, this particular form of activity appears to be in a sense infectious and also cumulative in the benefits which accompany it.

The diffiulties connected with the determination of areas to be dealt with, of plans for their reconstruction, for developments of all sorts and for the supervision of any streets or building constructed, requires in all probability the appointment of a separate and independent authority working on behaf of the city and as an agent for the city both in an advisory capacity and also in an administrative capacity to some extent, but of course without the power of control over expenditures. Part of the work to be done can be begun without any appreciable delay caused by the necessity of drawing up careful plans, but if the necessary work is to proceed far, it is imperative that there should be careful scrutiny of the needs of the city as a whole and the most economical and beneficial ways of meeting those needs. Any authority proposed should, of course, use the advisory experts both within and without the governments concerned in order to arrive at these plans.

After all, this most important business of housing is a state matter. It will occasion no surprise therefore if I mention as the very first requirement a *state subsidy*. I know that the Hon. Mr. Dunning, our Minister of Finance, had no illusions on this score for when I was speaking on this subject in Ottawa he asked me about money. "How much would it all cost?" That was surely the most natural of all questions to ask. I was not then prepared to make a detailed reply. Today, however, thanks to the co-operation of my Housing Committee I can be more specific and deal more directly with the financial aspects of this all-important matter. You will find that these proposals are but an extension of those already embodied in the Report of our Committee on living conditions in Toronto, made some three years ago.

This time however we base our calculations on the Ganong Report given in the House of Commons in 1935. In Canada the shortage of houses or dwelling units, as they were called, was then rising at the rate of 27,500 a year and had already reached the grand total of 82,000, those principally affected being of course the lowest wage earners.

That briefly means that today at a low estimate we need at least 137,000 houses if slum conditions of over-crowding are to be avoided. Suppose, for the sake of convenience we say that 100,000 residential houses are needed for the low income groups. What will be the cost of each house? It has been calculated that a house fulfilling all the requirements of hygiene etc. for an average sized family need cost no more than $2,500 on a $200 plot of land. Multiplying we get a grand sum of $250,000,000. That, you will admit, is not a bad beginning. In case any of us are inclined to be staggered by the enormity of a sum which is after all but a *minimum* requirement, we can quickly recover our balance by thinking of the terrible waste of life, through unemployment and crime and ill health and distress of all kinds which that $250,000,000 would in great part off-set.

Nevertheless and in the economic nature of things such humanitarian considerations cannot be entered as ponderable assets in the ledgers of private builders and contractors. Indeed from a strictly commercial point of view, they could only be entered in red ink and underlined as liabilities which would soon put a private building firm out of business. No, the building of commercially profitable homes for the lower income groups demands, first of all, a state subsidy supplemented by provincial and municipal subsidies. I will try to show as clearly as possible how this can be arranged and actually accomplished.

The economic rent of a $2500 house would be $24 a month. Now the reason why subsidies are absolutely necessary is briefly that the low wage earner can, on an average, pay no more than $15 a month. The difference between that and $24 a month must be met by a State fund to which the Federal, Provincial and Municipal Governments contribute. Once the scale of the contribution is arranged, and not until then, will this necessary Dominion-wide onslaught upon poor housing, slums, and all that is detrimental to us as civilized people, become possible.

Now if the State would contribute as a maximum annual subsidy the sum of $5,000,000 there appears to be no reason why the same amount should not be contributed by Provincial and Municipal Governments together and in co-operation. That would be an annual subsidy of $10,000,000 in all. A $2,500 house can be construsted for an annual subsidy of $100. An annual subsidy of $10,000,000 would therefore make possible the construction of 100,000 houses. And that number of houses is the minimum requirement to make up our present and increasing housing shortage.

I need only add that if the private builders are to get the greatest commercial benefits from the operations of this scheme, then the building must be on a large scale. Whole blocks of new houses, 100 or 1000 at the same place and at the same time must be erected, and not costly and sporadic substitution of new houses for old in isolated places at diverse times. Then for the first time in the history of Canada sufficient inducement will be offered a municipal or private housing corporation, to engage in the large scale erection of real homes for low wage earners. They will be assured of economic rents for every building by the tenants' own payments of rent, plus whatever contribution is necessary from the state fund. Can you imagine the vital, healthy stimulus such a scheme would give to employment?

If not, let us turn our attention abruptly away from these figures to some figures contained in a letter sent to me by the Rev. Father McGoey, in reply to a request of mine for information concerning King City on R. R. 1 ouside this City of Toronto. You witness here a process of the regeneration of men and women and their families. In 1934 he started with five families, 38 people, on 10 acres of borrowed land. In 1935 these 5 families had 10 acres each and 15 more families were taken through their training year. In 1936 some 15 families were placed on their 10 acres and 20 more families were taken through this training year. And now for the very meat of the matter. The saving to Toronto taxpayers has been $3,250; to York taxpayers $3,500; and to Federal and Provincial taxpayers $7,500, making a total of $14,250. More important still is the improvement in health conditions of the families, 240 people. In 1937 the maximum that may be necessary to care for them will be $5,000. Compare that with the $30,000 that would be necessary to keep them on relief in the cities.

I cannot imagine anyone who would withhold his admiration and praise for all that is being accomplished at King City—a small city with a big soul and amazing vision. I would have you notice how effectively it gives the lie to the base insinuation that those on relief have no desire to change their condition. With dwindling hopes they look forward to but one thing—the chance to make a living, the opportunity so persistently denied them to achieve independence for themselves and their families through the opportunity to work, and by their own labours to earn their own livelihood.

But that is not by any means all. Every taxpayer sits up and gives his most enthusiastic attention and support to any scheme which would seem to lighten the burden of taxation. Or to state the matter more directly: is there any reason to believe that such a housing scheme as I have outlined would succeed in lessening the huge amounts of public money now being poured out in relief—and poured out without any return other than the satisfaction of knowing that citizens are not being permitted to starve?

It is not in the least derogatory to human nature to say that even when discussing a matter even of such national importance as housing, it is wiser always to present it in terms of enlightened, practical self-interest, than in those that are merely humanitarian and theoretical. We don't like setting sail on unchartered seas even though they are painted for our delectation in the most enchanting shades of aquamarine and rose. We want to know *where* we are going, even though we are vociferously assured, that the voyage will be of the greatest advantage to our collective health and happiness, as communities of people seeking a better life.

A member of my committee recently and very truly remarked "So long as people in general and business men in particular flatly refuse to contemplate anything which appears merely to *add* to the tax burden, we have no hope of influencing them." To this the silence of wholehearted agreement was the only reply I could make.

Let us see then as accurately as is possible in a very brief consideration of the subject what effect housing might be expected to have on the relief expenditure here in Toronto. At a rough estimate the city is paying an average relief rental of $10 per month for some 9,000 families. Suppose the city undertook to build new dwellings for 2,000 families each year for the next five years. That would mean 10,000 houses for low wage earners—enough to house all the families for whom rent is now being paid. Even if the city received no rent from these houses—and that is rather a far-fetched supposition—it would at any rate save about $10 a month on each family thus housed. If, as we have every reason to expect, the relief situation improved, the city would be in an even better position. It would be able to charge rents higher than the average $10 per month estimated for relief families. What are called *economic* rents, covering all cost, would then be possible in all cases, bearing in mind that there would be also the housing subsidies to which I have already alluded.

At this very time money is going into relief at the rate of between $400,000 and $500,000 a month. That is, let us say, at a conservative estimate $5,000,000 a year in relief. No wheels are set in motion by this. Nothing productive is done. It does not stimulate employment. And yet a housing programme would most certainly save a part of this relief bill together with a part of the rent bill which I mentioned a moment ago. If, taking the very lowest estimate, every house that was built during one year gave employment to one man during one year, and half the men employed were previously unemployed; or suppose the same number would obtain employment either in construction or in taking the places of those who would be brought into construction, this wuld mean that the city would save the relief of 1,000 families every year during the 5 years during which the building programme continued. This is the lowest possible estimate. At the end of it all there would be something to show for the money expended, something accomplished.

Every idle man re-employed, every man who is taken off a relief roll and placed on a payroll favourably affects the economic life of a nation. Multiply the one individual by thousands and the effect is profound and far reaching. The building industry represents tremendous purchasing power and the majority of building workmen are skilled workmen. Employed, they immediately become purchasers of all types of goods. Once given something constructive to do their renewed purchasing power revives *all* markets. Of every dollar spent on building, 75 cents goes to labour on the job and to labour engaged in the production and transportation of materials.

In the United States a plan similar to our Home Improvement Program has been in operation for over two years. I wonder how many of us know that they have found that out of every $4.00 spent on home improvement $1.00 was actually borrowed.

Coming much nearer home, I was most happy to have had the privilege last week of opening the first house built under the Provincial Government's scheme being carried out with the enthusiastic co-operation of neighbouring municipal councils. That was in Scarboro. I am delighted to know that 14 more houses are nearing completion; and most heartily congratulate the Prime Minister and Mr. Croll on the recent announcement that 500 more houses will be built throughout this Province during the coming summer. Thus does a great work go forward.

Indeed to recognize not only the urgency of the housing problem but also the incalculable benefits of rehousing schemes, makes one wonder at the hesitations and vacillations of many people, who so patiently endure the wrongs that others have to bear.

On June 9th last a luncheon was given to the Mayor of Liverpool then visiting Toronto. At that luncheon I was authorized by St. James Cathedral to offer this City certain property on which could be built some 41 houses. The City of Toronto refused the gift. It would no doubt have been embarrassing to do otherwise, since acceptance of the gift would mean that something would have had to be done about housing.

It may be apposite to remark that the Archdeacon Gower-Rees in the course of a most moving sermon at St. Paul's last Sunday, had many pungent things to say about slums and the attitude toward them of citizens *and* of those in authority. That attitude is one of complete apathy and indifference. He compared it to the action of Pontius Pilate who you remember washed his hands of all responsibility and said "See *ye* to it." It is the kind of action which was described in the frankest terms in the Army and is, I believe, still referred to as "passing the buck." As a policy it is evasive, shiftless and completely futile. It is compounded of cowardice and self-seeking. It is in part the blindness of the Queen who hearing that her citizens cried aloud for bread replied "Let them eat *cake.*" It is in part also the narrow, selfish complacency of the man, who, hearing of these things, shrugs his shoulders and says, "Oh well it will last our time and we should worry."

I would suggest therefore that the congregation of St. James Cathedral whose magnificent gift was refused might study what has been done at St. Pancras in London. That great slum clearance and rehousing scheme was started by a young Anglican minister, the Rev. Jellicoe. He formed a company on strict business lines and the story of what has been accomplished is one of inspiring success. I wonder if St. James Cathedral, the first and only church here 100 years ago, might again be first in leading the way by forming a Company of the same type having the same noble aim—slum clearance and the rehousing of our citizens.

And now I approach the end of what I have had to say to you. I have tried to set before you in concrete terms suggested solutions to a tremendously important problem which we must solve or perchance it will be solved for us by those who will not forever endure remediable distress which delinquent authority refuses to remedy.

It is knowledge of the stimulating effect of housing activity on all employment that is behind the Home Improvement Plan so ably conceived by Mr. Arthur Purvis and being so successfully put into execution in this province by Mr. Ryland New and his Executive Committee. The Home Improvement Plan simply illustrates on a smaller scale how generally this is recognized. And if this Plan is in fact creating employment how much greater would be the stimulus to employment if in addition to home improvement we were to have home building on a large Dominion-wide scale?

I have laid before you what I believe are the objectives toward which we should strive and I would like to remind you that it is to help in achieving these aims that the Toronto Housing Centre exists. What does the Housing Centre seek to do? Briefly, its purpose is to impress upon citizens and civic authorities the urgent need of housing for the most needy and defenceless families: the damage of neglect which allows unwholesome conditions to exist and spread: the necessity of purposeful planning for the healthy growth of this city: and, generally, the urgent importance of securing for every family an adequate and healthy home.

The members of the Housing Centre are in favour of subsidizing low cost housing and slum clearance. They are opposed to any piecemeal building or rebuilding of dwellings in any part of the city without careful consideration of the present and future needs of each district as a whole and of the entire city as a unit. They believe that the carrying out of these aims would provide widespread employment, lessen the burden of relief, and improve the health and morale of the many, many families who are now depressed and weakened by the conditions under which they live. You will notice, therefore, that what I have said today might be termed a plan of action by which these necessary, these superlatively important objectives can be achieved.

I sometimes think that the very first symptom of decay in a nation as in an individual is self-satisfaction. That is death to the spirit. And as long as slums endure and increase, as long as the housing problem awaits solution we have no reason whatever to congratulate ourselves.

The spirit of Canada is a confident, youthful spirit. But it is not enough that young nations like young men should dream dreams. To have been proud of one's youth will be but poor consolation if the years to come bring with them the frustration through neglect of youthful hopes and ambitions. If all that so urgently needs doing *today* is left undone, then the price we shall pay will yet be one that exceeds our direst imaginings. The full weight of responsibility for what is and what shall be, falls upon us. It is a responsibility not to be discharged by endless, futile discussions but only by immediate purposeful action undertaken with a will.

We who as a nation pride ourselves—I know not how rightly—upon our youth and freedom have even now before us the examples of older countries like Great Britain and Sweden — examples of all that can be accomplished once we bravely determine that the primitive, distressful, cavelike and never-to-be-tolerated conditions of living in slums, shall not continue to infest and undermine and damage irreparably, our own civilized Canadian communities.

Caves and the cave man. Slums and the slum dwellers. Wherein lies the difference in their conditions of life? Hardships are the same in all ages: the passing of centuries does not make them easier to endure or man better able to endure them.

The cave man of old was, if you will, a victim of circumstances struggling to better himself against conditions that were not of his making. And civilization itself is surely nothing more than a purposeful improvement of the conditions in which men live: a steady upbuilding of the health of mind and body and spirit through intelligently organized human effort.

Let that effort be made now. Let us begin. For, in the never-to-be-forgotten words of the Citizen's Housing Committee of Halifax, "It is not a question whether we shall pay or shall not pay. It is a question whether we shall pay blindly or intelligently, whether we shall pay for better housing or for the damage done by that which is worse. Housing of the poor we are going to provide. Let us make no mistake about that. It is only a question whether we shall house them in hospitals, mental institutions, reformatories and jails, or whether we shall house them in cleanly, light and sanitary surroundings where both body and soul will have a chance. Which shall it be?"

President Balfour: Your Honour, may I express on behalf of all within the sound of our voice our thanks for this analysis of the Housing Problem, for the suggestion of remedies, and for the suggestion of the collateral advantages which would accrue from the application of them. May I also voice on behalf of not only the Province of Ontario but the whole of the Dominion of Canada, our appreciation of the use you are making of your high office in giving leadership to this and other sociological problems of the country. I consider it will rebound to the benefit not only of those now living but to the whole of the prosperity of this country,

I thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN

An Address by MR. FREDERICK GRIFFIN

Thursday, 25th March, 1937

The President: Gentlemen: We are particularly fortunate in having as our guest-speaker, Mr. Frederick Griffin. We are fortunate in that the *Star,* through its usual courtesy made the arrangement that Mr. Griffin would speak to us on this, the 25th of March. We are fortunate again in that the business policy of this great newspaper knows not the word 'repudiation.' Mr. Griffin, about a week ago today was summoned to cover a tragedy in New London, Texas. He flew to that place where the three hundred odd school children met instant death, to relate to us as he has done through the newspaper, some of the details of that horrible tragedy. On this account it looked as if we would have to postpone this meeting, but through the persistence of Mr. Griffin and that great newspaper organization, he is here. No obstacle is sufficient to prevent the carrying out of an arrangement such as they made with us.

Mr. Griffin needs no introduction to you. You have read the printed word from his pen, (or his typewriter,) and you have heard the spoken word over the radio. Today, we welcome Mr. Giffin in the flesh, some of us for the first time, and if I might be permitted to say so, the sight is a pleasant one. (Applause.)

I have now great pleasure in calling on Mr. Griffin to address us on the subject on which he is very well qualified to speak, "The Tragedy of Spain." Mr. Griffin! (Applause.)

Mr. Frederick Griffin: Mr. President, Gentlemen: In some ways I would rather speak to you on the Ontario School Question than the Spanish War. It is a subject of much complexity, and any attempt to reduce it to simplicity must of necessity leave much unsaid. It has military and political, national and international aspects, all hopelessly interblended; feudalism and mediævalism clash with republicanism, socialism, anarchism. Add the complication of Spanish character, Spanish topography, the Spanish church question, and the desire of the Province of Catalonia for independence, and you have a veritable jig-saw. I often felt the futility of trying in despatches to express conditions in terms that Canadian readers would understand. Trying to satisfy a fair enough and friendly enough but rather touchy censorship, frequently, I am afraid, made them obscure indeed.

First, I might make clear, I was not on the Rebel side, but only on the Government or Loyalist side. I spent the month of December in Madrid; the other two months I spent mainly in Valencia, the temporary capital. Thus, my view of the war and what little I learned of the Spanish question are necessarily confined to what I saw, and felt, on the Government side.

Another thing I should like to make clear, since I understand some rather ridiculous reports have been printed in this regard: the correspondents on the government side were neither threatened nor ill-treated, and as you see, I for one, was not shot. I should call the government authorities almost naive in the way they accorded freedom to correspondents to move about and in their almost complete lack of any organized effort to influence them by propaganda. Only one area was forbidden and that was a certain city which was reserve headquarters of the International Column of foreign anti-fascists, predominantly German and Italian exiles, fighting for the government.

Let me deal briefly with the military situation and touch a little on Madrid, the miracle of Madrid, as it was called by General Emil Kleber, former head of the International Column, who holds, as you know, Canadian citizenship. You are all familiar with the general course of the war, of the military rebellion, backed by various reactionary interests, which broke out last July, and of how the rebels achieved almost constant early success by superior military organization and arms until they became masters of the greater half of the territory of Spain.

After easily capturing Toledo, last fall, the rebels advanced almost without meeting resistance until November 6th, last, until they crossed the threshold of Madrid. On that day, following the capture of Getafe airport and surrounding villages, Franco's Moors and other troops captured four bridges on the Manzanares River, which is Madrid's west boundary, entered University City, whose spread may be compared to that of Exhibition Park, and were in the city streets. They had only to swing on with their cavalry and tanks and Madrid, except for street fighting and mopping up, was theirs. For Madrid, on November the 6th, was demoralized and undefended. That night the government fled in panic. I was not there at the time and can only speak from hearsay. But correspondents who went out on the preceding days by automobile from Madrid to cover the rebel advance—or rather the daily retreats of the government militias—gave me an extraordinary picture of this. It was open warfare, if warfare it may be called. There was no line, there was never any attempt at a line. There were no trenches. The government forces were raw levies, almost altogther composed of units of proletarian workers raised, inadequately armed and disjointly directed by the trades unions and political organizations.

There was no real leadership, no single command, no central authority, no plan, no tactical knowledge no discipline — only Spanish individualism, Spanish fatalism, Spanish laissez-faïre and Spanish courage which does not know how to fight a modern war but is not afraid of death.

Between Toledo and Madrid, a distance equal to that between Toronto and Hamilton, the government militias failed to lay down a line or attempt a stand. Lacking knowledge, they actually did not seem to know how to begin or where, and there was no cohesion between the various units of this rabble of socialist and anarchist workers.

Not even at Madrid, not even when the rebel army was entering village suburbs to the south and west, were trenches worth a fig dug at Madrid. No trenches, no barricades, no real defence. Why? I don't know. Blame it on Spanish fatalism, some quirk of Spanish temperament, some defect in the Spanish character — blame it, if you like, on the weakness due to divided counsels on the Popular Front side. All I know is that, lacking command and co-ordination, lacking adequate arms also and the knowledge of how to use them, without military leadership, divided in aim before the approach of the enemy, the Popular Front put off and put off, until Franco was across the Manzanares and in University City.

Franco was in. A defenceless city, down almost to its last round of ammunition, lay in his grip. Spaniard that he is, for he is Spanish too, which explains a lot of the war, he hesitated. The next day, the International Column, 4,000 strong, marched in, counter-attacked with the élan of crusaders against Fascism and began a defence which has lasted now for five months. Not only did the Internationals prove a focal force around which the Spaniards rallied, but they supplied a practical example of discipline and unity to the undisciplined, non-military militias.

The government levies were given a clue to how they might make a stand. A defence was established of strong trench systems, remarkably good trench systems, for I visited them. In the shattered west side streets of Madrid they built tremendous stone barricades with an army of labourers. Franco's army could not hope to have carried Madrid by direct assault, once these defence lines were built and the defenders learned something of the art of trenches. And still Madrid stands, after five months, a glorious episode in a queer, tortuous war, a magnificent landmark in the long path which men have trod in the search of the centuries for human liberty.

Much has been written about Madrid and I do not intend to go deeply into my personal experiences or impressions. In many ways this capital city under partial siege presents an extraordinary spectacle. Roughly, one-fifth of the city, the whole west side belt through parks, boulevards, fine streets into the crowded north-west quarters of Cuatro Caminos and Tetuan, working class districts, have been savagely pounded into a most terrible desolation. The photographs you may have seen do not begin to do justice to the completeness, the awfulness, the foulness of the wreckage of stores, homes and streets.

In addition to these completely wrecked areas, the central business area—part of it, at least, what we should call the downtown, centering around the Puerta del Sol and the Gran Via, which is within half a dozen blocks of the devastated zone—has been both bombed and shelled but has not been systematically laid waste like the broad west side belt to which I have referred. Life and business still continue there, in spite of the periodical hammering. That is, the stores do business, the cafes are crowded, street cars run in the Puerta del Sol and on the Gran Via and the subways function.

Outside these areas, in, roughly, four-fifths of Madrid, at least when I was there during December, and I think there has been little change, while occasional shells or bombs have fallen here and there, little extensive damage has been done.

Let us regard Franco's treatment of Madrid from the viewpoint purely of a military situation, without emotion or political bias. Viewed thus I should say he has behaved with a real or forced restraint, even leniency. That part of the west side which he destroyed he destroyed from military necessity. It was the side or section which he hoped to enter. The fact that a couple of working class districts were pounded to pieces was, I believe, only incidental to the fact that they were, in reality, part of his objective of potential infantry attack. Even his shelling of the downtown area, while it may have had purely terrorist angles—like his shelling of it on the midnight of the New Year and his frightful Christmas afternoon blasting—it also was largely dictated by military necessity. You have all heard of the Telefonica skyscraper or Telephone Building of thirteen storeys and a tower which was frequently sprayed by shrapnel or banged with high explosives. It was press headquarters and headquarters of the press censorship. We had adjoining rooms on the fourth floor. I could not say this in despatches—lest, forsooth, Franco should learn — but the reason it was shelled by Franco, and a perfectly good military reason, was because its tower was Madrid's principal artillery observation post—that and, of course, the fact that it was the city's nerve center of telephonic communication. It was not at the foreign newspapermen that Franco was potting though I have a feeling he would not have been sorry if he had winged some of us. He did not wing any correspondent in the Telefonica. He did not kill anyone in the Telefonica, strange as it may seem. I have a record of it being hit up to the end of January 38 times by high explosive shells, six inch and over, and not one of those 38 shells, many of them entering rooms and gutting them, killed a single person, and wounded only four. They did not stop the elevators running, at least never for long.

The fact that Franco's shells killed no one in the Telefonica was a matter of pure chance. The reason was this: The first shell fired, usually around the tea hour, rarely hit the building flush but dropped short or beyond or into one of the narrow streets alongside—where such shells killed plenty. The first shell warned, and people moved out of the front and side offices into the central hall in front of the elevators, and then, if the shelling grew too intimate, gradually down to the basement.

Maybe Franco showed restraint. Maybe, much more likely, he did not have the guns, shells, aeroplanes and bombs in sufficient quantity really to plaster Madrid. I believe he did not, in spite of all you have heard about the amount of German and Italian help he has received. At no time since the siege of Madrid really settled down has Franco shown a big superiority of armaments or aeroplanes. In the air over Madrid the government planes in December, and I think since, had a decided edge and bombings were scarce. In the main, these planes of the government were, I believe, Russian, and they were largely manned by foreign airmen, a number of them French, with some English and some Americans, but many of the pilots were Russian. It may interest you to know that these Russian machines, especially when piloted by young ardent Soviet pilots were generally credited with out-flying and out-fighting the German and Italian machines and pilots of Franco.

I will merely add this: If Franco had had the guns, the aeroplanes and the will, in a week of merciless, unrelenting bombardment he could have made Madrid at once a shambles and a hell in which the surviving civilian population, yes, even these stoic Spanish people, accustomed to suffering, inured to fate, would have gone mad. No such continuous bombardment of the city at large for days or even for hours was at any time practised, except in the deliberately devastated zone of the west side.

There is a tragic, ruthless struggle in Spain, and very many people have died on both sides, and not always on the battlefield, but you cannot think of it in terms of what many of you experienced as soldiers of a highly organized, fully equipped, strongly disciplined army in the Great War. There is no continuous front such as existed in Europe from 1915 to 1918 from the North Sea to the Swiss border. For one thing in Spain there is not enough of an army on either side to make such a continuous front possible. For another thing, Spain is criss-crossed by mountains. Besides Madrid, which has several fronts, there is a series of fronts, many to a degree isolated from the others. These fronts are not only physically isolated but are independent of one another; little co-ordination has been achieved between them.

That brings me to the point of attempting to picture briefly the political background of this civil war, as seen from the government side of the lines. Let me first etch a couple of illustrative incidents. When I returned to Valencia from Madrid on January 2nd, it was to find an army of labourers constructing scores of shelters as a refuge from air bombing. Not a piece of modern machinery was in use, none of the steam shovels or other equipment we use in Canada to dig holes quickly. Everything was done by hand. Men with mattock-spades dug laboriously and even more laboriously used little woven baskets to pass the stuff to the surface. In these excavations, when they yawned sufficiently, other men began to construct, yet more laboriously, what looked like circular pipes of concrete and then to fill these over with concrete and earth. Considering the long effort and the time involved, each shelter — and I saw none actually finished after more than two months of construction — seemed ridiculously small. Whether they would have stood up under a direct hit from a 500 or 1000 kilo bomb, I cannot say. Personally, I would not have entered one of them during an air raid on a bet. I would have been afraid of being smothered or trampled to death.

But the point is this: Valencia was constructing these elaborate shelters but Valencia, vulnerable from the sea and within 90 miles of the Teruel front, had not dug a trench. In spite of the lessons of the war, Valencia had made no more preparation against the possibility of a rebel advance than Madrid had made last November.

I found the same thing in Almeria, the next city along the coast from Malaga, which I visited following the fall of Malaga, and in Alicante and other places.

Let me give you a second picture. I referred to General Emil Kleber, the defender of Madrid, leader of the International Column, a man of military knowledge, of striking personality, a practical hard-headed tactician. A picturesque fellow, as well as able, it was natural that he should prove interesting to the foreign newspapermen. We dramatized him; so did the Madrid papers. The picture tabloids carried many photos of his dark, strong, Slavic face. They hailed him as the saviour of the city. Our paper, Socialista, even demanded that he be given supreme command of the government forces.

Was he? No. Miaja, head of the Junta de Defensa of Madrid grew jealous. The Spaniards grew jealous of the implications that a foreign leader and foreign volunteers had saved Madrid. And Kleber was relieved of his command.

Kleber is a member of the Communist party and under party discipline. About the time he was relieved of his command of the north-west front of Madrid from University City to the mountains, the attack on Malaga was beginning. The Communist party sent Kleber to Malaga to help save it. Instead of using him adequately, the Spanish commander of the Malaga front gave him what amounted to Captain's rank and a small bit of front to defend. The Communist party withdrew him to Valencia. There, again, on Communist orders, he went to Largo Caballero, Minister of War, as well as Premier, and asked to be sent to the front as a common soldier—a smart political move on the part of the Communists, but not war. Of course, Largo Caballero could not send General Kleber to the front as a private and so he stayed in Valensia with nothing to do.

Two days before I left Valencia for Barcelona and home, I sat with Kleber in the Cafe Vodka. He was in civilian clothes. We chatted. Kleber was smiling and philosophical—but, unemployed. He said evasively that he was doing special work. Special work! He should have been in command of the army fighting against fascism, his enemy and the enemy of the Spanish people.

I might give many odd examples of the values which enter into the Spanish War. As you know, the Popular Front government was elected in February, 1936, a little over a year ago. It was—it must be emphasized again—a purely republican government. Azana, the Prime Minister then, and his Cabinet were all Republicans —there was not a so-called "Red" in the Ministry—but they held office with the support of Socialists, Communists and Anarchists. But the tail wagged the dog—or, perhaps, more correctly, failed to wag it, in the sense that Azana, a liberal intellectual bourgeois, shrank considerably from the revolutionary aspects of the Popular Front groupings. The Republican Government was weak—and the socialists and anarchists, who supported it, embarrassed it, no doubt, not only by their desire for fast radical reform, but by the struggle which they were conducting among themselves. At the moment I shall merely mention the Communits, for the Communists had a mere fifteen deputies in a Cortes of more than 470 seats, and did not count much.

While the government behaved weakly as all liberal governments are inclined to behave weakly in such a situation, the socialists and anarchists staged a struggle for power. There were strikes and counter-strikes. There was gangsterism. There was terrorism and assassination, not only of fascists, but of one another. In Madrid and Castille, generally, the U.G.T., the socialist trades union, had the principal strength. In Catalonia, in the great industrial city of Barcelona, it was the anarchists who through the C.N.T., the anarchist-dominated trades union, and through the F.A.I., its philosophical counterpart, who were strong. These bodies split the Spanish proletariat on two widely different radical or revolutionary principles and indulged in bitter, often bloody struggle. Thus, in spite of apparent unity of the Popular Front, there was disunity, incoherence, weakness.

My own feeling is that if the reactionaries had held their hands for a few months, the Popular Front would have crumpled, and the country would have fallen into their hands easily, possibly by parliamentary process. But they struck. And after they struck they diverted the attention of the conflicing Popular Front elements to a common enemy. Even that, however, did not bring complete uninty to the divided Popular Front, and it did not bring discipline to the undisciplined, long repressed, suddenly freed, highly individualistic Spanish masses. It has not brought that yet entirely.

When the rebellion broke out, the purely republican government was still in power, weak, indecisive. It proved hopelessly inadequate to win a co-ordinated effort against the rebels and, following a series of republican premiers, Largo Cabellero took office as Prime Minister. He was a well-known labour leader, as a chief of the U.G.T. He was a left wing socialist. In September he formed a Cabinet, retaining Republicans but including right and left Socialists and later a couple of Communists. So far no anarchists or syndicalists, though they supposed generally the Popular Front, had joined the government—true to their doctrine which is against government, the state, authority and an imposed discipline. It was only on November 4th, a day or so before the siege of Madrid began, that four anarchist-syndicalists broke all precedent and joined the government of Largo Caballero.

It was now, on the eve of its flight from Madrid, a fusion or union government really representative of all the elements, from moderate and liberal to the most extreme radical which made up the Popular Front. It was, broadly, and is today, such a government as Leon Blum heads in France. You might have thought that such a government would be able to unify, act, advance, rule. But no. First of all, there was its flight from Madrid on the night of November 6th. Far be it from me to criticize it for lack of courage. The city at the moment seemed surely doomed and it if fell, every member of the government caught would have died before a firing squad. But that flight weakened it tragically and it has since never been able to establish a commanding authority.

In addition, it lacks a real figure, real leadership, for Largo Caballero, while honest, sincere and respected, does not inspire. Beyond that there is the weakness that comes from the clash that still goes on among some of its elements, with the enemy within ninety miles of Valencia. The anarchist element has proven up to the time I left particularly recalcitrant.

The war, you must understand, was not altogether on the government side—and still, to a degree, is not being fought—by the government, by a central authority. It is being fought, still, by the various trades unions and political organizations. It is as if this country found itself at war and armies were raised not merely by the government but by the Rotary Clubs, the Orange Order, the United Church, the Knights of Columbus, and the C.C.F. It was, of course, inevitable when the officers staged a rebellion and the government, finding itself without an army, had to arm the unions.

Not only did the various parties and unions raise their own armies, but they officered and disciplined them or failed to discipline them, according to their particular ideas. They munitioned them, fed them, supplied them by maintaining their own transport systems. An alleged army of the government simply consisted of a number of loosely knit commands. Questions of movement or attack, of unity or co-operation, were discussed not always so much from a military as from a political point of view by the various political advisers of such military forces. Only in the Madrid area, by a miracle, as I have said, did something like cohesion and a real military unity develop, but even in the Madrid area the political divisions still obtain and battalion or brigade political advisers have authority in matters of strategy which should be solved by a single command on a strictly military basis.

Indeed, the whole thing has been even more irregular than this, for provincial and local divisions entered also. For example, Catalonia, not merely dominated politically by the strength of the anarchist organizations but complicated by the strong Catalan demand for home rule, has largely run is own show, both political and military, without much reference to the Madrid or Valencia government. At best, Catalonia is simply an ally of the rest of loyalist Spain — even though Catalan anarchists hate the rebels and no doubt dread, if they think about it at all, a fascist victory. Catalans have served at Madrid and Catalonia sends supplies to the rest of Loyalist Spain and munitions, but first with Catalonia comes its own home front, the Huesca front in Aragon, where there has been little action for months.

Not only has this lack of unison, essentially Spanish as well as political, been evident on a broad scale but it has extended into the very villages. It is impossible to go with any detail into the matter. Committees rule villages, dominate districts—and some of the attempts at rule have been weird. Sometimes these are socialist committees, sometimes anarchist, according to the local seizure of power—and sometimes there are two conflicting committees, and incidents, meaning bloodshed. Each committee is running its own private idea of war—far from the front line—and its own private idea of revolution. It is all most confused.

Not only did the different parties recruit, maintain and direct their own armies, but they had their own guards and police. They had earlier their own justice, summary justice. Sometimes as you approached a village by car you would come on three sets of guards at barricades. One might tbe republican guards representing the government; the second might be U.G.T., and the third would be C.N.T. Each would demand your passes and you would show them.

The government was making a considerable effort to assert its authority and with considerable success. It issued a decree banning the carrying of revolvers by "unauthorized" people and cut down greatly the fearsome custom of a gun on every man's hip. Further, it issued a decree seeking to do away with the private guards and police of the organizations and parties, to have only republican guards and police, in order to subdue the irregular arresting and irregular shooting going on still. This had very great success. I do not know that it did away altogether with party guards and police but it regularized them and somewhat controlled them by incorporating them as government officials, and it did cut out irregular arrests and irregular shootings.

Not without incidents, however. At this time, while I was in Madrid, the Food Commissioner of the Junta de Defensa of Madrid was one day driving along a road outside the city on business. He was a Socialist, a member of the U.G.T., a baker, but he was also Food Commissioner, a big shot, and it irked him when some road guards at a barricade stopped him and demanded his pass. Especially when he discovered they were C.N.T., or anarchists. "What right have you to be asking for passes?" he said. "The Government has done away with you." Angrily he told his chauffeur to drive on. Immediately five rifles fired into the back of the moving car. They did not kill him but they wounded him badly. That night, right in Madrid, in the midst of the siege, there was a vendetta and hot-heads of the U.G.T. wiped out a few C.N.T. people to even up the attack on their comrade, the Food Commissioner.

Now, it may seem that I have painted a somewhat bleak picture of the government side, but it is a fair picture, I hope. I certainly do not wish it to be an unfriendly one. At the same time I do not wish you to get the whole thing out of perspective. I have been seeking to show you the difficulties under which the government fights against the rebels and the Fascists. Unorganized, almost chaotic, at first defenceless, without arms; friendless, refused help, except for such limited help as Soviet Russia has given; with their coast partially blockaded, the government side has put up a great fight against a fascist military rebellion for eight months. The Loyalist Spaniards, in spite of conditions of which I have given you a most inadequate outline, are still holding Franco back, even though he has the open aid of Hitler and Mussolini.

Do not think that conditions have not been progress-ing. I would like you to remember that it took Britain two years, and a munitions scandal, before Lloyd George arose to direct something like full effort in the Great War. It took nearly three years before a Union Government took office in Canada and longer than that to pass conscription. It took some four years of war to get a single, unified command on the Western Front.

And we in Canada, Britain and France were educated, disciplined, experienced democracies. Spain is a most primitive democracy, a raw democracy of untried, undisciplined, inexperienced people. They have no background of self-government, no background of mechanics or organization, no experience in co-operation. Why, they scarcely know of the kind of things we do so simply by telephone. There is democracy in the raw, there is no dictatorship on the government side. If there only were a dictatorship, Franco would be doomed. People speak, unfriendly people I mean, speak of the government side as "Red." It is not red. It is an uncoalesced ferment of republicanism, liberalism, primitive democracy and advanced, and to a considerable degree, undigested radicalisms—lacking in strong leadership and in central authority. Mind you, there has been a spread of unison, of discipline, of government authority. Men of sense and goodwill of all parties, including the anarchists, are trying to extend it. Men of sense and goodwill are striving to create a national people's army out of the militias of the organizations and parties. They are striving to establish a central command, a general staff. They are hoping to bring in conscription. They are seeking sincerely to find a political formula which will overcome the clash of radical theories and win the war, not for socialism or anarchism or any other ism, but for the Republic of Spain and Spanish democracy. They are compromising and succeeding in compromise. In the three months I was in Spain, slow though it was, there was a growth in all these things. The Republicans, the Socialists, right and left, and the Communists had effected a very considerable unity. The Socialists and the Communists particularly had achieved an almost complete co-operation.

That brings me to a brief mention of the Communists in Spain. Many people in Canada and elsewhere are inclined to think of the Spanish Loyalist side as Red or Communist, and to think that a Communist Spain must emerge if the government side wins. The Spanish Loyalist side is definitely not Communist. The Communist party in Spain was at the outbreak of the rebellion almost insignificant in numbers. The proletariat, beginning with the 1870's, I think, had been long since captured by, on the one hand, Socialism, and on the other, Anarchism. There is no time even to outline the subsequent growth of Socialist and Anarchists movements in the big cities or of the spread of primitive ideas of Socialism and Anarchism among the peasant peoples of such horribly depressed provinces as Estremadura and Andalusia.

At any rate, Communism, with the sad and cruel soil of Spain a fertile one for revolutionary upthrust, got little foothold there because the other radical movements already had it. But since the outbreak of the civil war the Communist Party has been growing. Why? Because of its realism in this land of unrealities, because of its intelligence, moderation and organizing capacity in this land of ignorance, extremes and disorganization and because of its single-mindedness in seeking a common front for Spanish democracy and the primitive elements of this young Republic against the onslaught of a common enemy. Communists, being realists, learned a bitter lesson when the divided front of democracy in Germany fell like a ripe plum into the hands of Hitler. Socialism, Communism, is their eventual aim, of course, everywhere, but in such a situation as Spain they see clearly that Fascism must be beaten and democracy saved before there can be even the beginnings of Socialism.

There are many other things on which I should like to touch, but it is impossible in the time. I shall merely in conclusion say a word about the possible future. Will

Franco win? From a military point of view, with the help he has allegedly had from Germany and Italy, I cannot see why he did not win long ago against the unorganized, unco-ordinated Popular Front which I have tried to describe. I am inclined to doubt the numbers of German and Italian troops attributed to the Franco side. If he had 80,000 or 100,000 such troops, surely except at Madrid he could have ripped his way through the lines of the Loyalists armies.

Franco, with all the breaks, sweeping everything in front of him for weeks, with crude, unorganized, inadequately armed levies opposed to him, has proven his utter incompetence as a military leader. He is still trying to take Madrid—when he did not have to take Madrid. He had only to hold Madrid occupied, to have switched to the Teruel front and to have driven fast down towards Valencia, to have cut off not merely Madrid but practically all of government territory outside Catelonia and to have ended the war.

In jumps, at different times, I drove along the whole government coast from Almeria, down near Malaga, through Alicante, Valencia and Barcelona to the border. There are over 500 miles of coast and it is virtually undefended. It is vulnerable at places without number. Do you realize that the highway and the railroad from Barcelona to Valencia and from that to Madrid and the rest of Loyalist Spain—the only single means of communication existing—runs for scores of miles within a stone's throw of the sea? In many places the road and the railroad skirt the sea along the edge of cliffs. Franco has command of the sea. At a hundred or a thousand places he could have put in landing parties large or small, to have blown up bridges, viaducts, tunnels. He could have had his big cruisers, the Canarias and the Baleares, lie offshore and make that road impossible. He could utterly have disrupted government communications. He did not do it. He made no attempt to take the important port of Malaga which could have been his at any time for the taking, until the Italians allegedly took it for him.

Madrid's remarkable stand made everyone on the government side think that in the end the government would surely win. The fall of Malaga, following a sharp, ruthless, powerful attack by Franco's troops with Italian aid showed how weak the government side and the government organization really were. I remember how shocked I was when I drove down to Murcia, Alicante and Almeria and found how undefended and unorganized they were. And when I grasped the vulnerability of the coast line I did not see how the government should possibly hold out. Indeed, the wonder was that it had survived so long.

Yet, Franco may not win. It is, in the terms in which it is being fought, anybody's war yet. Franco may break before the government side does. If he should win — well, he may win but he cannot hold it. A few years, at most, and he would be out, done. For one thing he will never, even if he were capable of it, be able to organize and regiment Spain as Hitler and Mussolini have done in their countries. The Spaniards are neither Germans, Italians nor Russians to be dragooned and for long suppressed. The masses have felt power, have tasted strength. They will never lie back still. They will be an armed proletariat, with rifles and machine-guns, for Franco will never, should he win, clean them all up. And there will be the countless hills. Franco might hold out for five years as ruler, but I doubt it.

Should the government side win, what then? It is hard to say. If the war lasts long enough the various elements may learn complete compromise and a new and balanced democracy may emerge. Such a democracy would be, as it is, a republic, but it would be highly socialized and at the same time libertarian, to meet both socialist and anarchist aspirations. On the other hand, there might be further struggle and blood if the various radical elements continued their struggle for supremacy.

In Spain the pendulum is swinging and I think it will continue to swing. Spain has a time lag of one, two or three centuries to make up in various aspects of its life. This is only another chapter in Spain's late, violent emergence from mediaevalism and semi-slavery. Our forefathers wrought democracy and forged liberty slowly, if sometimes violently at that. Have sympathy then with Spain, with the Spanish people. I wish I might convey to you the poverty of vast masses, the degradation seen over wide stretches, the sight of thousands living in earth caves and in rude huts in which we would not keep pigs. Spain has been grievously messed by its possessing classes. They have had the country for hundreds of years. They have done nothing for it; it is the most backward, most depressed white country in the world. It is time the Spanish people had a chance to run it themselves, however radically. Surely they will make a better fist of government, education, economics, agriculture, industry, society, than an incompetent General, active for decadent interests, who seeks to weigh down with brutal chains, not merely their bodies, but their souls and minds. Already the freedom of the Spanish people has been deferred too long. A Franco victory may postpone; it cannot prevent a Spanish Renaissance. (Prolonged Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Griffin, may I, on behalf of this very large meeting of our members, and also on behalf of all who have been fortunate enough to listen to you on the air, thank you for this address today. If, as Shakespeare says, "All the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players," surely such journalists as Mr. Frederick Griffin provide the eyes for a vast audience. We have learned today of some of the tragedy, we have had a picture of the conditions in Spain, an analysis of what it all means, and we will go away from this meeting with a better understanding than even people who will read history in the future will have of what is going on today in Spain.

I thank you, Mr. Griffin, and I also thank the Toronto *Star* for enabling you to address us today. (Applause.)

DEMOCRACY LIMITED

An Address by MR. GRATTAN O'LEARY

Thursday, 1st April, 1937

Chairman: The President, Major Gordon B. Balfour, K.C.

The President: Gentlemen: It seems to me that our guest-speaker today need make no apology for his choice of subject. Probably no other problem is so vital for future generations, so worthy of our consideration today as that of Democracy. Mr. O'Leary has had unusual opportunities to make observations and give us his analysis of democratic institutions and, what is more important, the future of those institutions. Twenty-six years ago he became a member of the Press Gallery in the House of Commons. For the next fifteen years he occupied that position in addition to being correspondent of the London Times, and on the staff of that great newspaper of which he is now the Editor, the Ottawa Journal.

Mr. O'Leary is a constant overseer and a commentator on present day events. He is too well known altogether as a journalist, as a radio commentator, and as a public speaker to need any further introduction from me. I have great pleasure in calling on Mr. O'Leary to speak on the subject: "Democracy Limited."

(Applause.)

Mr. Grattan O'Leary: Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is told of Daniel that when he found himself in the lions' den he went over to the most ferocious-looking of the lions and whispered something in his ear, whereupon the lion went into a corner and began to tremble violently. It is said that what Daniel whispered in the ear of the lion was that after luncheon he would be expected to make a few remarks. On occasions such as this I always sympathize with that lion. (Laughter.)

I am going to speak to you today on two aspects of Democracy. First, upon the place and the limitations of public opinion in democracy; and, secondly, upon the place of freedom in democracy. I am going to speak to you of these two things because I have a conviction that with the world being swept into a new era there come obligations to all of us to re-examine certain beliefs which we have accepted these many years.

I shall begin with public opinion. We were all told at school—it was one of the maxims of our school books—that public opinion was the voice of God, and that, I think, was nonsense. Sir Edward Grey, in one of his volumes of memoirs, said that after an experience of a quarter of a century in public life he had come to the conclusion that most of the mistakes made by governments in his time were made because governments thought that publc opinion was a great statesman, when the truth was, as demonstrated by experience, that public opinion was not a great statesman at all. That, I think, under modern existing conditions in government is fairly true.

In these days when government has become so complex, when it has to grapple with such a multiplicity of subjects, when it is reaching out into our very private lives, it becomes extremely difficult for public opinion to determine with any degree of accuracy what government is about. Consider the multiplicity of questions with which government has to deal. You have world questions, international questions, national questions, provincial questions, municipal questions. In those circumstances it is practically impossible for the average citizen to know what government is about all the time, or to know all or much about all of its problems at the same time.

Let us take, for example, the monetary question. Does anybody suppose that the average man, necessarily concerned with his own interests, is in a position to give any government useful advice about what should be done regarding the monetary question? Three or four years ago at a meeting of economists in the United States, Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, said that in his judgment only eighteen men in the world understood the money question, and immediately he sat down another gentleman rose up to challenge some of Professor Fisher's theories and to challenge them so successfully that it became obvious that the number of those who understood the monetary question had been reduced by one.

But, let us take as another example of the impossibility of the average man being able to help with advice with respect to these questions, the World Economic Conference that was held three or four years ago. Here was a Conference of all the great statesmen of the world, of all the technicians, of all the experts, commanding all the information that great research could make available for them. They met in London. They debated, they discussed, they examined, and at the end of two or three months what did they do? They brought in a report in which they said that after all of this debate and discussion they had succeeded in identifying the question. Well, I put it to you, if after all of this discussion and debate by the world's foremost authorities, the best that could be done was to identify the problems, how in the name of common sense is the average voter, the average elector, to be in a position to tell governments what to do about such problems?

I know that certain people say that the solution of this whole problem, the problem of an informed electorate, lies in education. I frankly don't think that it does. I remember two or three years ago Mr. Bennett making a speech on this particular subject at Pickering College. He was pleading for a more educated public opinion, for a higher level of education in our democracy, and he instanced as an example of what might come through failure of education what had happened to us with respect to our railway problem. He instanced the case of a National Transcontinental Railway. Well, obviously, the answer to that is that in 1904 and 1905, some very highly educated Canadians voted for the National Transcontinental Railway, just as in later years some very well educated Canadians voted for the Hudson Bay Railway. It is not a question of a high level of general education. It is a question of whether all of us can be educated into experts, and because that is manifestly impossible, it must follow that it is impossible for public opinion as such to constantly advise, influence or dictate to a government regarding what should be done about the questions which come before government day after day. The most we can do in a democracy, and I think democracy should give this matter increasing attention, the most we can do with respect to public opinion is to try to create a pattern of public thought, to try and fashion some principle, or philosophy of government, to try to arrive at principles of sportsmanship, fair play, decency; find the best men among us it is possible to find, place them in positions of responsibility and give them a fair chance in carrying out policies within the principles we may devise.

I submit to you that what we too often mistake for public opinion at the present time is merely the functioning of propaganda for some special group or some special interest, and that, I am convinced, has resulted in the group selfishness, the group government and the ever-mounting mountain of paternalism which we have with us today. And that tendency toward group selfishness, that tendency to mistake the highly articulate propaganda of certain groups and certain interests for public opinion, bringing in its train a constant increase of regimentation, control, classification, and so on, is having the direct consequence and evil of a loss of respect among our people for the liberty of the individual.

We have had two or three examples recently of what that loss of respect for liberty may mean. I should be the last person in the world to come before a Club of this character and speak to you a word against any particular government or any particular party, but I do want to make reference, within the scope of the subject I have taken for myself, to two legislative measures adopted by two of our oldest and greatest provinces within the past weeks, because these measures, I think, strike heavily at the old principle of British liberty which has prevailed, or prevailed at least to a great extent, in this country up to the present time.

I want to refer, first of all, to a Bill passed in the Legislature of Quebec, about a week ago, called, "An Act Respecting Communistic Propaganda." I hope you will permit me to read four clauses of that Act, in order that you may understand its implications. Clause 3 of that Act says: "It shall be illegal for any person who occupies a house within the Province to use it or allow any person to make use of it to propagate Communism or Bolshevism, by any means whatsoever." Clause 4 says: "The Attorney-General, upon satisfactory proof that an infringement of Section 3 has been committed, may order the closing of a house against its use for any purpose whatsoever for a period of not more than one year." Section 12 says: "It shall be unlawful to print, to publish in any manner whatsoever, or to distribute in the Province any newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, circular, document, or writing, whatsoever, propagating or tending to propagate Communism or Bolshevism." And Section 13 provides: "Any person infringing or participating in the infringement of Section 12 shall be liable to an imprisonment of not less than three months, in addition to the cost of prosecution and in default of the payment of such costs, an additional imprisonment of one month."

Gentlemen, I hold no brief for Communism. No one in this country has greater detestation for Communism than I, but that Bill is not aimed against Communism. It is aimed against liberty. There is not a line in that Bill defining what Communism is. The definition of Communism is left to the Attorney-General, and any social, political, economic or religious creed that he may dislike he may define as Communism and take action against under the terms of that Bill. Under the terms of that Act, the police of the Province of Quebec, acting under the instructions of the Attorney-General, might go into a church and if the sermon be deemed to tend toward Communism, might padlock that church.

This Bill is vicious for four particular reasons: It is vicious, first of all, because it enables a police officer to punish a man by padlocking his home before any court has found him guilty. It is vicious because it puts the burden of proof of innocence on the person thus attacked. It is vicious because it bars any appeal from the decision of a single Judge of the Superior Court. It is vicious, finally, because it enables any police officer to seize any literature, not only of a Communistic sort, with the definition of Communism left to the Attorney-General, but also of a sort "tending to produce Communism." I submit to you that under that Act the Attorney-General of Quebec could go into your home and padlock it, if on your library shelf you had a copy of Karl Marx. He could go into any school, any college, any university, and padlock that school, college, or university, if he disliked a lecture by a teacher within those institutions. He could close McGill University. He could seize and padlock the premises of any man having in his possession, I venture to say, certain copies of Mr. Moore's magazine (MacLean's Magazine,) within the past three or four years. I don't know what might have happened to Mr. Bennett had he delivered his famous radio speeches from the Province of Quebec with that Bill in operation—and I am perfectly certain what would have happened to Mr. Bennett's brother-in-law, Mr. Herridge.

Gentlemen, this legislation isn't freedom. This legislation isn't freedom as we have had it in British countries for 250 years. If there be revolutionary movements in this country, if the state is injured, if any man plot against the Constitution, we have laws with which to deal with these people, but to pass a law in a British country, arresting men, seizing their property, putting them in prison without any finding of guilt against them, that sort of thing is what is found today in Germany, in Russia and in Italy. It is the sort of thing found in lands where life has become a tragedy, and yet, the extraordinary thing is, and to some the painful thing is, that while that law has gone on the statute books of this country, practically no protest has come from the so-called liberty-loving people of this Dominion of Canada.

Now, I come nearer home. I come to legislation enacted within the past week in the great British Province of Ontario. I refer to an Act to amend the Securities Act. I am against that Act as a Canadian citizen for the simple and single reason that under it all rights which the ordinary citizen has had to sworn information being laid against him, with the responsibility which that sworn information involves, are thrown aside by its provisions.

I am not a lawyer and I cannot speak myself with authority on this Bill, but a week ago when a copy of this Bill came into my possession, I went to a noted constitutional lawyer in Ottawa, a man who has no connection with any political party in this country, and I asked him if he would summarize for me the meaning and the implications of that Bill, and I am going to read to you now what he wrote. He said: "This Act means this: The Security Frauds Prevention Act is being changed into an Act to enable the application of inquisitorial methods to any person or corporation whatever, in order to ascertain whether any criminal, fraudulent, wrongful or improper act has ever been committed, or whether any person or company has ever secured any unfair advantage over any other person or company, concerning anything at all."

And he goes on: "There is no limitations upon the investigator's powers. He need not even believe that anything unfair or improper has occurred. No security nor sale of security need be involved. All persons summoned before him must produce their documents or papers relating to any matter whatsoever, as the investigator may demand. The intimate details of the business and management of any corporation, whether or not a securities company, such as its investments, loans, borrowings, and relations with other companies may be examined into. This, whether there has been complaint or not against the company, whether by the public or by any individual. The investigation is at the whim of the investigator and there is no time in the past to which his inquisition may not be applied."

And, Gentlemen, that isn't all: "This investigator, under this Act, without any charge being laid whatsoever by any person whatsoever, may go into the office of a business, may seize its books, may bring in a report, assassinating the character of the person so acted against, blasting his reputation, and he is protected from every consequence of libel."

I submit to you that that Act is a blot upon the statute books of this British counry.

Last night I listened to one of your distinguished fellow-citizens speaking on the radio and he gave utterance to what I thought was a penetrating thing. He said that lawlessness by a government is just as bad as lawlessness by a minority. He said that there is such a thing as rebellion by a government. I submit to you that these two pieces of legislation are lawlessness by the state, that they constitute rebellion against the Constitution and against British liberty by two arms of government in this country.

Yet, what has been the public reaction to these Bills? Only yesterday I picked up one of the great newspapers of Ontario and in that paper I read a justification of the Act passed by the Province of Quebec. They said "This Bill is to fight Communism and, consequently, no matter what interference it may mean with respect to the rights of the ordinary citizen, these things are necessary to fight this greater evil."

Edmund Burke, in one of his greatest speeches, warned against frittering away liberty to serve political expediency, and Thomas Jefferson, I think, gave expression to the same thing when he warned against selling the day to serve the hour.

And if we in this country submit tamely year after year to legislation of this character, then the time will come, inevitably, when we, too, will lose that heritage about which we boast so much.

I should like before taking my seat to say just a word to my colleagues of the press. There are newspaper publishers and editors in this country, apparently, who think that the freedom of the press was won for the sake of the press. Well, it wasn't. The freedom of the press was won for the sake of the people, and if the newspapers of this country are not prepared now to put aside party considerations and fight for that greater thing, the freedom of the individual, freedom for the ordinary man, then the day will come when the ordinary man will not fight for the freedom of the press.

I would like honestly to see more public discussion, more public debate, more public agitation, regardless of parties or governments, regarding these two measures. We Canadians are fond of telling ourselves that we love and reverence British traditions. I am sorry to have to believe that we don't love and we don't reverence the greatest British tradition of all. Freedom of speech means more than freedom of speech for opinions we like. It means freedom of speech, freedom of discussion, for opinions we detest. It means what a great French philosopher said it meant when he wrote to his antagonist: "I detest the things you say, but I shall defend with my life your right to say them."

I would commend to the Canadian people at this juncture in the world's history, that magnificent inscription over the portals of Edinburgh University: "They say? What say they? Let them say!"

And I commend to you too, Gentlemen, that mighty invocation of Milton: "Give me the right to know, to utter and to argue according to my conscience, above all other liberties." (Applause—prolonged.)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. O'Leary, may I thank you on behalf of the whole of Canada, on behalf of the whole of the British Empire for your address today. It is most fitting that this should have been the forum for an address of this character. You have long been regarded as a watch-dog of liberty in Canada. I trust that this alarm which you have given us today may awaken us to look after our own property, the most sacred property we have, British liberty, and to stop the robbers from taking what they now propose to take. I thank you very much, Mr. O'Leary. (Applause.)

VIMY—TWENTY YEARS AFTER

An Address by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, THE REV. GEORGE FALLIS, C.B.E.

Thursday, 8th April, 1937

The President: (Applause.) Thanks for the applause but this is just a special business meeting.

We have had a notice sent to all the members this week of a proposed amendment to our Constitution and as this notice has been regularly sent, such motion is now in order.

Major James McC. Baxter: I will move:

> THAT Article 6, subsection 2, be amended by the substitution in the third line of the subsection of "April 30th," in place of "April 15th."

Mr. H. C. Bourlier: I will second the motion.

The President: You have the motion, duly moved and seconded.

That means that our Club year which ends on the 30th of April will be the end of the year, coinciding with the Annual Meeting. There will not be a lame duck session as there has been in the past.

It requires a two-third majority of all members present to carry this. What is your pleasure?

CARRIED.

I declare the motion carried and the Constitution amended, accordingly.

The President: Gentlemen: Just twenty years ago tonight was the eve of a battle which made Canada prominent in world history. At Vimy Ridge all the Canadian Corps was engaged and after three days that Ridge was captured and it may now be said to be a part of one of the two places in the world where Canadian soil exists which is not within the boundaries of this country.

A portion of the court-yard in Edinburgh was deeded to Canada many years ago, for the purpose of establishing Scottish knighthoods in New Scotland, or Nova Scotia. I don't know of very many which have been established by reason of that deed.

In France, what was formerly Hill 145 is now forever Canada, and that noble memorial executed by our own Toronto sculptor, Mr. Allward, stands there forever as an emblem of perpetual peace.

I regret very much to say that Mr. Allward was unable to grace the head table today as we expected he would have done.

We have at our head table today, we have the honour of having Padres who were with the Canadian army during the late war. With your permission, I will introduce them, starting on my left: Rev. Robert Graham, Canon C. W. Hedley, Rev. F. Vipond, Rev. J. E. Ward, Colonel G. W. Peacock, Rev. George Fallis, Rev. H. P. Charters, Brig. N. Pitcher, Commander John McMillan, Rev. J. K. Holland, and Rev. Roy Essex. I welcome these gentlemen as a representative group of those fine men who during the conflict, now many years past but still with us in many respects, looked after the spiritual needs of the troops and who, perhaps, played a bigger part in keeping the morale of the troops up in preparation for just such a battle as Vimy Ridge than most people give them credit for.

I have great pleasure and the Club has great honour in having an address today from what we call the Senior Chaplain of the Canadian Forces. He tells me his designation is Assistant-Director of Chaplain Services. Lieutenant-Colonel the Reverend George Fallis will address us on "Vimy—Twenty Years After." Colonel Fallis.

(Applause.)

LT.-COLONEL, THE REV. GEORGE FALLIS, C.B.E.: Mr. President, Distinguished Guests and Members of the

Empire Club of Canada: I wish first of all to express to you my great appreciation at being asked to come to this Club and to speak today on the twentieth anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge. I recognize that many distinguished men have stood where I now stand and I assure you my feeling is one of very great humbleness. I am very pleased to see about me my confreres, the Padres of War days, and I know they will feel for me as I speak for them and also for those who served overseas, in an endeavour to say something that may make us better Canadian citizens because of our going back into the past, stimulating our memories and making new resolves. I am very pleased to look out on the group assembled and see familiar faces of other days. It gives me courage as I undertake this task of interpretation.

Twenty years ago, as we have just heard from the President, there was fought one of the great battles of history, the battle of Vimy Ridge. There are those who say that Canada was really born as a nation in its self-consciousness through that great battle, and so it might be a very good thing for us to look back over the years that are gone, and bring close to our memories those men of the past. In fact, I take it, that one of our primary thoughts in coming here today is to do honour to the memory of those men who fell at Vimy and who are symbolized in the great monument at Vimy Ridge. Yet, I do not believe that would be satisfactory to the men who laid down their lives, if we just stop there. I am quite sure that they would have us review the events of the past and interpret their lives in a fashion that we here would resolve that we would be better Canadian citizens and that we would go from this place to do all we can to preserve and to develop this fair Canada that they loved so very, very dearly.

I would call you, then, to think of these men who are gone, and I am going to ask you, first of all, to think of them as real men, as men who were red-blooded and who were thoroughly human. I sometimes think that at many memorial services the overseas man is entirely misrepresented. I have heard a great many addresses in the last twenty years at memorial services throughout Canada and, having been four years overseas, there are times when I have sat and wondered if the soldiers who lie in Flanders' fields and at Vimy really were able to lie still in their graves when I heard the things that were said about them. Of all the things that could be said about these men who laid down their lives, I think nothing would please them more than to say of them that they were normal human beings. I have heard so many addresses that have tried to make them angels, that have dressed them up in clothes they, themselves, would not recognize as garments they had ever worn, and when we think of them, if they are to be of any value to us, I am sure we must think of them as they really were. The last thing in all the world that they would want to be, I am sure, would be angelic, and if we make them ethereal, then we are going to abstract ourselves from them so they will really not be a great inspiration to us. There is a verse in the Scripture which I think makes Jesus a very intriguing person to most of us. That verse says "He was at every point tempted and tried like as we are" and, because of his experience in life you and I feel that He can understand us, He can inspire us. I feel much the same about those men who laid down their lives at Vimy. If we make them ethereal they can not inspire us. We would feel like people apart, like people separated from them, but if we can bring them here today as they were, men and women, too, with all the traits of character we have, yet with all those traits of character measuring up to a magnificent life of sacrificial service, then I am sure they will be of great blessing to us.

I said a moment ago, we are here for two purposes. First, to honour the dead; second, to inspire the living. I am sure the best way to inspire the living is to do the first, that is, to honour the memory of those dead, and we can honour them best, I am sure, by remembering them as they really were. So I am asking you to think of these men as we Padres and others here knew them overseas. I want you to think of some of their qualities that are just as essential for the well-being of the Dominion of Canada in 1937 as they were for the well-being, the strength and the co-operation of the Canadian Corps at Vimy Ridge.

Now, what I am going to say to you today may appear, possibly, commonplace, at first thought. Yet, I am sure, if we think through we will discover this, that possibly the commonplace represents the greatest influence that comes into daily life and, in fact, that comes into the very universe itself. I am going to ask you to think first of all of these men who laid down their lives at Vimy as men who practised a magnificent comradeship. If you would go into a front line trench or into a dugout or into a hut overseas you would find all ranks and conditions of men. I have known men who were most illiterate who found one of the warmest pals and comrades in a man who was a university graduate. I have known men who came from what might be called the lower levels of social life, as we call it, who became a comrade of a man who had almost been born with a silver spoon in his mouth.

If you went into a hut you would find there Catholics and Protestants and Jews, you would find Liberals and Conservatives, you would find there represented almost every group in this whole Dominion of Canada and yet, for the moment, they were big enough and fine enough to forget every difference that they had, to break down every artificial barrier in their splendid comradeship for the good of a great common cause.

Now, I wonder if you are not going to see that that was fundamental in the making of the Canadian Corps, fundamental in making it a magnificent unit of co-operation that could do the things, ghastly as they were in those days, that they were called upon to do. Think you not, my dear Canadian citizens, that that spirit of comradeship and co-operation is not necessary in Canada at this very moment? You say that these men were sentimental

Johnnies when they had this rare spirit of comradeship? Well, if they were sentimental Johnnies, their very sentimentality linked them together in co-operation so that they were able to do the very biggest things. You and I who are called upon to do very great things for Canada, can never do them unless that spirit comes to us. We can never make this land what it ought to be if there is going to be sectional interests, if there is going to be bigotry, if we are going to forget that the ultimate goal of the Canadian citizen is to make this a very great and wonderful land.

So, it would appear to me that the spirit of these men who laid down their lives comes to us at this time and appeals to us as Canadian citizens to have the very finest spirit of comradeship. I want to back up this viewpoint by bringing to you just a very short line from the pen of one of our great Britishers of today—L. P. Jacks, a most creative mind, who is the Principal of Manchester College at Oxford. It is very interestng for me to read this line from his pen because it indeed does back up the wisdom of pulling together in any great cause in the spirit of comradeship as those men did overseas and I am sure these words will sink into the minds of every serious person who is hearing my voice at this time. He says: "Our civilization has now reached the point of advance when its very survival depends on the willingness of all citizens to stand loyally together as comrades in a great adventure. Indeed, comradeship, world-wide and world-deep, is a supreme necessity of the present day."

So, you see, our soldiers were wise men in that they developed in their hearts that spirit of comradeship that made it possible for them to pull together. Indeed, I cannot help but pause for a moment to take you back to those days and, to bear witness to that wonderful fellowship. I can remember as if it were yesterday, after the third battle of Ypres, being in a dressing station, just a little bit east of Ypres, and we were doing all in our power to look after the wounded in a practical way. We had a huge cauldron of cocoa and I remember coming to a chap lying on a stretcher; he looked famished and pale and he said, "O, Sir, can I have a drink of that cocoa?" I brought a huge, rude dipper, and putting my hand under his head, put the dipper to his lips. He began to drink. May I say it reverently, he drank something like a hungry calf—if you were brought up in the country you will understand — he seemed to gulp it down. Suddenly he stopped and over his face came a sense of shame. He said, "O, Padre, I forgot the fellow there lying on the next stretcher." I said, "O, there is lots, my good fellow, take a good drink of this." He finished the drink and I went to the next chap and a very, very striking thing happened. The chap next to him was a German prisoner and when I gave him the final drink of cocoa, he turned and said to me, "Padre, don't forget that poor Heinie because I expect he is just as thirsty and just as famished as any of us Canucks." That spirit of fellowship, that spirit of chivalry, that spirit of comradeship was the vital thing overseas and I ask you, is it any less vital in the building up of Canada in these times of disintegration. When we have to face the future and look at strange problems, Canada cannot afford to have sectional interests, Canada cannot afford to forget the lesson of comradeship out of which there came co-operation of the very finest order.

Then, I am going to say another commonplace thing. You may say again it is a commonplace but it is fundamental. It is this: That these men knew how to laugh. These men knew how to be humorous. Humour is the outward expression, some one has said, of music in the soul and these chaps had such control of themselves that in almost every occasion of life they were big enough and fine enough to smile and to laugh in the face of the most intense difficulties.

I was reading a book the other day by a very prominent psychologist. He actually said that in these times it would be a good thing for most of us to stop in the midst of our perplexities and throw our shoulders back and give a hearty laugh at life itself, that it would help us and it would strengthen us.

I can remember hearing Sir Harry Lauder address a great number of men in the Vancouver Hotel a number of years ago. As he rose to speak he said, "I do not apologize for my profession. I am a professional humourist and I do believe that a professional laugh-maker has a divine calling."

Now, I would like to say that those men overseas lived very much like that. I do not know where they were trained or where they got the psychology of the situation, but I am quite sure of this, they were great men in attack, in the things they had to do because day after day they kept the sense of humour and the power to laugh at difficulties very much to the front.

And, again, for fear you think that these soldiers were sentimental Johnnies, I want to read you a line from the pen of that old rugged philosopher, Thomas Carlyle. He said, "How much lies in laughter. The cipher key that will decipher the whole man. The man who cannot laugh is not only fit for treason, stratagems and spoils, but his whole life is already a treason and stratagem. Let none such be trusted."

You say these men were just humourists, that they were just whistling, so to speak, to keep their courage up. I want to say, if whistling will keep my courage up, I am going to whistle, and I would say to you, if whistling or singing or smiling will keep your courage up, in the name of God, do it as those men did overseas. And, again, I must pause to bring to you that spirit that was in their souls that on occasion would express itself almost like a flash of lightning. I remember marching from Bailleul to Godewaersvelde in the fall of 1915. You all know that overseas the first five miles were not half as far as the second five miles, possibly not a third as far and I think from Bailleul to Godewaersvelde is eleven or twelve miles. We were marching along and at the end of five or six miles some one had the bright idea that we were near Godewaersvelde. Our Colonel stopped the Battalion and asked a chap on the road, "How far is it to Godewaersvelde." Overseas men had a strange way of giving an officer an answer, even if they knew absolutely nothing about it. I think they liked to have the officer on, because they knew the officer had them on so very often and so the chap said to our Colonel, "About a kilometer, Sir." Well, I suppose it was twelve or fifteen kilometers at that time. We marched on, believing we were just about at the end of our march. In about a half hour we met another chap and the Colonel said, "How far is it to Godewaersvelde?" "About a kilometer, Sir." On we marched again and a third time stopped a man, and asked, "How far to Godewaersvelde?" And this chap answered, "It's about a kilometer, Sir." I was marching with "A" Company with a Major Allan from British Columbia and behind me were two chaps and in the dark one started to laugh and he said, "Well, Bill, thank the Lord, the darned town is not gaining on us."

(Laughter.)

Now, you see, these men had that something in their souls that made them laugh. Something bubbled up that was humorous and I am quite sure all the men who heard that man went a little lighter on their way as we turned into Godewaersvelde on that rainy night in November, 1915.

I would keep you here until tomorrow morning if I told you of experiences with men that really just made me laugh so hard on occasions that I forgot all the drudgery and forgot all the struggle of the day. And we Canadian people must be a happy people. Whatever we do we must not allow these difficult times to so overcome us that we will not be able to smile, that we will not be able to laugh.

Let me read this line from L. P. Jacks: "To save our world something more than the ability to diagnoze is needed. Something more than social science. Courage is needed, courage on a universal scale. I would urge you, beware of social doctrines which obscure the necessity to high courage. Fear is a disease and never so deadly as when the soul of a nation or a community becomes infected with it so that it cannot even laugh."

Here you have the spirit of a fine philosophical mind, backing up the psychology of the daily life of the soldiers at Vimy when he tells us that courage is born out of the spirit of laughter and trying to see the sunny side of life. I do not think much of the poetry, but I do believe there is something in that philosophy that says:

"It's all very well to smile,
When life goes along like a song,
But the man worth while is the man who can smile
When everything goes dead wrong."

Now, I am going to say a third commonplace thing. I am saying it in no denominational sense at all, not even as a churchman, but just as a human being who is trying to struggle through the way of life as you are. These men overseas were men of tremendous force and power because they had in their souls a spirit of religion. I do not know what the Padres here would say but my four years' experience overseas would say this, that our soldiers were incurably religious. When I say that I do not mean denominationalism, or that they loved services. Some of them hated them, especially when they had to go on parade, with the thing mechanized. After all, religion must be an inspiration, a well of water springing up within us to be vital. My experience overseas was just this, these men had an inarticulate but very deep faith within them. I think that a great many of them lived in the spirit of the Old Testament. They liked the God of battle. If you analyzed the attitude of most of them possibly they could have claimed Jehovah, rather than Christ as their leader in spiritual things. Yet, there were many who were mystics, men who seemed to think they could feed on that verse that Jesus said, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

I remember down on the Somme, talking to a little lad with dark hair, olive skin and dark eyes. I said to him, just before the zero hour had come, "Aren't you afraid to go over the top?" He said, "No, I am not afraid." I said, "Why are you not afraid to go over the top?" He said, "I am not afraid because I have read the 15th of St. John, and I read there, 'Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends,' and I have just arrived at that position and if there is anything in it at all I don't think I will be let down when I am quite willing to give my life."

I was at the headquarters of the British Army for twelve months. I had a little office two blocks from Sir Douglas Haig, the Ecole-Militaire, where he had his headquarters. One of the things that used to impress me most was to see Sir Douglas Haig, morning after morning, turning to the right and going down two blocks, to a little chapel on the ramparts yonder at Montreuil. On more than one occasion I humbly followed in the wake of his staff to see those men bow in earnest and thoughtful prayer for their tremendous task and for the interests of the Empire that they represented.

But I think I would not truly interpret them, if I did not say in the presence of the Padres here today that they did not understand denominationalism. They thought religion a universal thing. I remember one of the most distinguished Anglicans of Canada saying to me, "We are here in the mud together, we are eating plain food together, we are living in vermin-infested huts together, we are men dieing together, surely we ought to have our religion together."

I remember another occasion, that makes plain the catholicity of spirit of that day. I was in the 8th Brigade, with Father Knox, one of the best known Roman Catholics of Canada. When he went on leave I buried his dead and when I went on leave he buried my dead.

The story goes that when he returned from leave on one occasion he said to me, "Padre Fallis, did you bury any of my dead while I was away?" I said, "Yes, I buried six in Phoegsteert Wood." He said, "Let us walk up there." We walked up so the story goes and as we came to the cemetery he said to me, "Where are the graves?" I pointed to the six and he said, "You Roman Catholics, buried by Padre Fallis, as you were"—and then he buried them all over again. That the story is told and can be told shows that the very opposite spirit was in vogue over there.

Will you pardon me if I go further, because I am one tremendously interested in the unification of all our Christian forces in this land of ours. May God forbid that anything should arise in this country that would divide us and split us as a people in this fundamental thing of our national life, called religion.

I can remember an occasion, indeed I would name it possibly as the high experience of my life. Up in a dressing station, a Roman Catholic boy who was dying pointed to his tunic, and I opened it, he pointed to his shirt and I opened his shirt and there, around his neck was a gold chain and on the end of that chain a crucifix. It was a gold crucifix, a beautiful thing to look at, and it meant so much to him. He nodded his head and I held it before his eyes. Suddenly it dawned on me that he might think I was a Roman Catholic priest. I put my hand on his shoulder and said, "Laddie, I am not a Roman Catholic. I am a Protestant." He said to me one of the most inspiring words of my life overseas: "Padre, thank you for your service to me. I knew you weren't a Roman Catholic." Many years have gone by, over twenty years now, in fact twenty-two, but I never sing that hymn that we sing in all churches so often that my eyes do not grow misty:

"Hold thou Thy Cross before my closing eyes,
Shine through the gloom and point me to the skies."

You know the rest of it. It always brings back that lad to me and it always brings a catholicity of spirit and makes me feel we all belong to the common Heavenly Father.

I would like to say this to you: You may say the soldiers' religion of those days was a strange kind of religion, a religion that backed up war. Every time I hear that from the lips of some people it makes the spirit of scorn arise in me. Why did the soldiers going overseas believe they were going over in the name of God? Because the press of Canada told them that, because the universities told them that, it was because the churches, almost to a unit, told them that, and if they went over believing they could gain a tremendous spiritual victory by carnal means, don't blame them, but blame the institutions that stood behind our national life and told these young men that was the very thing they were doing. Possibly we have learned a different lesson since those far off days. We have found, perchance, that we can't have great spiritual victories by carnal means.

That leads me just to this last point: that these men who died had a great vision of a warless world. I wrote to fifty soldiers once and asked, "What took you overseas?" I wrote to privates and I wrote to Generals. Thirty-eight out of the fifty wrote back and said, "I believed when I went overseas that I was going over to end war." We all know we didn't do it. We all know, what I think was said so splendidly by Lord Astor in an article he sent me just this very week. I want to read it to you. He said: "If we go to war again it may be too late to learn that civilization can never be preserved and expanded by arms and warfare, but by goodwill, true neighbourliness and co-operation. In spite of all that has happened, the British people will be well advised to keep alive the great idea in the League of Nations."

I would quote to all of the returned men who hear my voice the words of Haig, which he spoke to the World Conference of Returned Men: "I urge you to join in a crusade having for its object the freedom of the whole world from the devastating scourge of war."

I take it that that does not mean passivism, but a militant spirit against international injustice, greed—in short, a crusade to create the spiritual qualities in men and thus in nations by which the natural outflow would be a peace, aggressive for the development of all the world. I am so glad that the Vimy Memorial expresses that thought.

I say this, in all sincerity, of all the people in the world who have hated war, they have not been pacifists but soldiers. No soldier who lived in those trenches for any length of time could see anything else but the awfulness of war.

So, it would appear to me today, if we are to build up true and lasting memorials to these men we must not lose sight of those great principles and those great ideals we have been struggling for for the last twenty years. We are prone to push them away too far on the horizon. These men rise up today to call upon every Canadian citizen to stand for those principles of world co-operation and world fellowship and world understanding by which the new day alone can come. Plato once said, "You never get anywhere if you go along mistaking occasions for causes," and we have found that out, I am sure, in the last two years. You can't legislate people into being good. You can't make nations warless by passing resolutions or changing treaties. You can only make people warless by creating that heart, that spiritual heart that makes love, justice, goodwill and neighbourly interest and makes them feel that the most futile thing in the world is to abrogate the reason and let the arbitraments of arms be the way to settle international disputes.

I congratulate Mr. Allward on having put in the Vimy Memorial the spiritual ideas of world fellowship the men had in those days.

May I close with a final word on peace and war. I had the very great honour of the friendship of John McCrae. John McCrae wrote a poem, a sonnet that shall live as long as the English language lives. Talking to him one day, he said, "People misinterpret that poem of mine where I say, 'Take up our quarrel with the foe.' I did not mean Germany. I meant all those spiritual forces in the world that would make war possible in any age and generation." So I say to you, in the name of John McCrae, take up that torch that those men threw to us, with failing hands they threw them. I think we are not going too far when we say that "They shall not sleep, though poppies grow in Flanders Fields," if we do not pursue their ideal, if we do not make their dreams come true that they had for this land that they loved, that they sacrificed for and for which they died.

(Applause, prolonged.)

THE PRESIDENT: Colonel Fallis, may I thank you on behalf of all who have heard you today for this description which has brought back twenty years ago and from you, who have seen so much of it first hand, the character of the fighting troops of that war. You have indeed given us a great privilege in giving this address in which you have so well related to us your own experience. You have also, I think, given us a responsibility to take to heart the lessons which you have so well drawn from those conditions which you then observed and to digest those lessons and to do what we can to spread that propaganda. I thank you very much for coming here today, Colonel, and we would like to hear from you again some time. (Applause.)

OUR LADY OF THE SNOWS, HER MOTHER AND HER CHILDREN

AN ADDRESS BY MR. CHARLES RUPERT SANDERSON

Thursday, 15*th April,* 1937

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen: In view of the fact that our guest-speaker today is Chief Librarian of this City I am taking the liberty of calling on Mr. John MacBeth, K.C., who is Chairman of the Libraries and Finance Committee of the Toronto Public Library to introduce Mr. Sanderson. Mr. MacBeth. (Applause.)

MR. JOHN MACBETH: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Empire Club: I gladly welcome the opportunity of intoducing the guest-speaker today. To most of us he is already well known. As a matter of fact, he has on a former occasion addressed this Club. To some of you he is known as the Chief Librarian of the City of Toronto, to others as President of the Rotary Club, to others as a speaker much in demand in this City and elsewhere and, to others still, as a good fellow with whom to spend an evening or an afternoon or a week—the longer the better. His companionship is of the inspirational type.

Charles R. Sanderson came to us from London. He had served there some seventeen years in the library during which time he was with the John Ryland Library in Manchester and, by the way, Manchester is the city where the first public library was established in the year 1853. He came to us, a graduate of the Universtiy of London, with a fine record of achievement both in library service and war service.

It is no small tribute to him that within a few days of the death of our late lamented Chief Librarian, Dr.

Locke, who has been a guest-speaker at this Club on more than one occasion, he was, without any hesitancy at all on the part of the members of the Board, elected to fill the position thus made vacant. His qualities as an entertaining speaker most of you know; those who don't will be able to judge after what he has to say this afternoon. The subject of his address is: "Our Lady of the Snows, Her Mother and Her Children," and I have much pleasure in introducing to you our friend, Mr. Charles R. Sanderson. (Applause.)

MR. CHARLES R. SANDERSON: Mr. President, Mr. MacBeth and Gentlemen: Long before I knew Canada first-hand I had learned a great deal about her. Not merely as a kid in stamp collecting days when one of the most romantic stamps was that one with a map of the world, a huge part of it coloured red and perhaps, occasionally, printed in such a way that the red just overflowed a little and looked even more than it was; at a time when people spoke of the British Possessions, a term which is now never used, but which must have applied, I suppose to every part of the Commonwealth, when,, to use a phrase of Kipling's, "There were nations where the flags were learning to fly," but later there came a change and Canada was spoken of, as Kipling puts it in his poem which we all know, "Our Lady of the Snows:"

"A nation spoke to a nation,
A Queen, the Lady of the Snows,
A Queen spoke to the throne,
'Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress inmy own'."

And at college one was taught the importance of Canada in the development of that thing which we know as the British Commonwealth of Nations. In the constitutional law development and relationships Canada has been all-important because there is no constitution in any part of the Commonwealth of Nations that has not looked to the

Constitution of Canada for inspiration, for guidance and for background.

Then, Gentlemen, if in some ways England fails to know as much about Canada as we think she ought to know, I want to be daring enough to suggest to you that there are one or two things one should remember. A great many people in England think of Canada in terms of rolling fields of corn for a very short period of the year and as an ice-bound bountry for the major portion of the year. But if we remember that not today, but only a few years ago, there was a huge immigration propaganda all over the Old County which pictured Canada almost entirely in terms of waving fields of corn, we have ourselves to blame if that propaganda went over so well that we are now regarded in those terms.

Then, too, I think we ought to remember that England for a generation or more, two generations, had been definitely interested in Russia. Russia was the romantic country, Russia was the unknown country, Russia was the uncertain thing, and it was known that Russia was an ice country. It was known there were big rivers in Russia that were frozen. It was known that the Baltic was frozen over, and it was known that the St. Lawrence, an equally big river, was frozen over. Therefore, there was a carryover in sentiment and if England does or did think of Canada in terms of corn and ice, it is partly due to our propaganda and partly due to their experience. Today, nickel, copper, gold, pulp, all sorts of things are changing the picture but the change comes slowly.

I think, too, Gentlemen, we should remember, if sometimes we feel that England tends to lean over backward in her reverence of tradition—she is proud of her tradition and justly so—she can always laugh at herself. She can laugh at the situations which come up as a result of that reliance on tradition. Read "The Spectator," the most conservative weekly journal in England and see how "The Spectator" makes fun of English traditions and yet reverences it.

There is a story told of the United States airman, training for the war and living in one of the Oxford Colleges. He wrote home to his mother and he said, "Mother, they say this College is 300 years old. It must be, otherwise it couldn't have got as cold as it is."

But, on the other hand, Harvard and Yale are themselves building up traditions. I admit their plumbing is modernized and Oxford and Cambridge have not modernized theirs yet, but even Oxford and Cambridge can make fun of themselves. The only difference between Oxford and Cambridge is that the Oxford man walks in a room as if he owned it, and the Cambridge man walks in the same room as if he didn't give a darn who did. And, to a certain extent there is an appreciation of the humour of the situation and yet a definite faith in the traditions that are built up.

And, if occasionally an Englishman thinks that a Canadian speaks with a touch of an American accent—well, what about it? How much does it matter? They can laugh at themselves. Do we mind if they mistake the accent? What of it, If they think we have taken it over from the States and have a touch of it alone with central heating and ice consciousness, what about it? In the smaller towns of England, even today, if you want ice, and I will admit even in conservative England there are occasional needs for ice, if you want ice in a small town, where do you get it? You go down to the local fishmonger and you buy a copper's worth of ice. Central heating and ice consciousness are coming but they are coming slowly and actually, if you look at the Englishman's comments on accents, he doesn't distinguish between a man who has a German accent or a French accent or an Italian accent. He lumps the thing together and says he speaks with a foreign accent, and probably in most cases he doesn't realize the distinction between one accent and another. And I should like to ask, if some one living here had never been in close contact either with a Cockney or a group of Cocknies, or a group of people who came from New Zealand, would he distinguish between that slight touch of Cockney and, on the other hand, the particular accent which has its home in New Zealand? I guarantee, to many ears, those two accents sound exactly the same, yet tell a New Zealander he is talking like a Cockney, or tell a Cockney he is talking like a New Zealander! So. what does it matter? Aren't they really the trivial family differences that we can smile at, and as long as we can smile at them we are safe, as long as we smile in the right way. We smile at our passports sometimes. We show the picture and grin at it and we forget that often that is what our friends think we look like.

But behind all this, Gentlemen, there is a common inheritance, an inheritance of integrity. You remember a very few weeks ago one of the highest officials of the Air Ministry in England was dismissed, summarily dismissed, because it was believed he had been using his personal position for personal advantage. You remember Baldwin — I am not talking politics now, possibly twenty other men have done this thing—after the War was so definitely disturbed about the rise of the securities he held as a result of the war, that he determined he would not make one penny piece out of the war and he had them valued actuarially and he paid over to the British Government $625,000 and did it anonymously, and it wasn't known for nearly two years from what source the cheque had come. There is an integrity there.

I once had a friend who is an Austrian Jew. He once told me that a maxim in Vienna was that a person was as upright as a British Judge, and I thought it was one of the finenst compliments to the British Commonwealth that any one could pay.

There is an integrity there. Our common democracy, our common allegiance to the Crown, and these, Gentlemen, belong to us equally with the Old Country. It represents that which is held by the Lady of the Snows with her mother and in that respect our Lady of the Snows says, "Daughter am I in my mother's house."

But, Gentlemen, we tend to think that everyone must feel the same about this. I think it is, perhaps one might dare to say, a common failing of all English-speaking peoples that we cannot understand why everybody does not look at democracy with exactly the same eyes as we do. We forget and, to quote Kipling again, sometimes we ought to say:

> For frantic boast and foolish word,
> Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord,
> Lest we forget.

We tend to speak in terms of a story that a man named Mitchell told in a book he wrote a couple of years ago, called, "The Golden Rhinestone," a story of an attempt to get to Yukon down the MacKenzie Basin. He and a little group eventually got to the furthest extent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson and there was a flag-pole and flying at the top of the flag-pole was the Union Jack and underneath the Union Jack was the Hudson's Bay Company's flag. The Hudson's Bay flag was a white flag with the letters, H.B.C. in red. There they met some people from the States. These men from the States were disturbed at finding the Union Jack flying up there and they said, "Why should it be there? What right has it to be there? That is all right but what is the other flag underneath? What is H.B.C.?" Then they had to explain that H.B.C., underneath the Union Jack meant "Here before Christ." (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, we tend to forget that other people have not had the experience that we have. We tend to forget that Germany, except for a few minutes, under the Weimar Constitution never had a democracy at all, had showed no signs of that. We forget that Germany was a maiden nation created by one man, created and made by Bismark, planned, constructed from the top as a result of three wars, deliberately fought and brought into being only forty-four years before the War began. Germany was still a child, Bismark still controlling her, and bringing her up in twenty years from a group of scattered states into one of the first nations of the world. I know other people contributed. I know that Kaiser Wilhelm contributed. I know he added to the difficulties. They tell a story: during the war a man was talking and arguing in the streets of Berlin and he used the phrase "that fool of an Emperor," and a policeman went up to him and put his hand on his shoulder and said, "Come along, come along, you can't talk like that." The man said, "You didn't let me finish. I was talking about the Emperor of Japan." The policeman said, "O, no, you weren't. There is only one fool of an Emperor. Come along."

(Laughter.)

We forget, too, Gentlemen, that the oldest generation in Russia today grew up with eighty per cent of her population under serfdom, that they have never known land possessed, except by the aristocrats, they have never known land possessed in any other way except communally. They have never known anything but famine and starvation and when they got a piece of land they were taxed in some cases up to ninety per cent of their incomes to pay for communally owned land and when the Revolution came to Russia that was a casting off of the curse of private property and they, too, have never known democracy.

We have forgotten that Italy was made only forty-three years before the war began by Cavour and Garibaldi's Red Shirts, (can't we see the Black Shirts following now?) and Mazzini.

These countries are not like us. They have never known our experience. They haven't had our inheritance. They haven't grown up as we have grown up for generations under a democracy which perhaps sometimes, unfortunately, we take for granted. We have not had in our history the story of dictatorships. Why? We have never needed one. We have never needed one. I believe that democracy is safe in English-speaking nations, is safe in my generation. I believe it is so firmly rooted that they will not be change in my time but, Gentlemen, what about the time of the generation now growing up? It is not merely that we can kill people more swiftly today than ever and on a much bigger scale than ever, life itself is different. Those youngsters today are growing up in a life that doesn't merely consider vitamins but they are growing in a house where some one is on a diet. They are growing up in a house where people talk about repressions and inhibitions. It is a complex life but there is another side to it.

If we take the old countries as an example, immediately there is going to be a falling population. It is estimated that in thirty years time from now forty-five per cent of the population of England and Wales will be over sixty, and forty per cent of it will be under fifteen. The latest figures suggest at the moment in England and Wales a hundred women will leave eighty-five daughters. Therefore, if every daughter lives to grow up and herself become a mother, there is a shrinkage of fifteen per cent in the population in one generation. How much of that will show in the lifetime of this younger generation that is going to have to face the world? What effect is that going to have on the continuance of western culture, on the continuance of the democracy that has been built up by English-speaking nations? They are facing big prob. lems. This younger generation is going to have to find the answer to the conflict between the Nazi point of view and the Communistic point of view and it is either going to be fought out or it is going to be worked out. One hopes it is going to be worked out but it is in their hands more than it is in ours.

Sometimes when we come up against this younger generation—personally, I have great faith in them—I admit that at many times they seem puzzling. I admit many times their points of view when they present them are like the bathing costumes of recent years—you have to believe in them before you can see them. I admit, too, that they don' keep the rules all the time. Gentlemen, did we? Did we? We know we didn't. And when we get together don't we have quite a giggle oftentimes about the things we did when we didn't keep the rules? They can't keep the rules all the time. You remember the story of the man who got in the street car smoking a cigar and the conductor went to him and said, "You can't smoke here." The man said, "Who says I can't smoke here?" The conductor said, "Don't you see the notice: No smoking allowed." The man looked at the notice and he said, "Well, I can't keep all the rules. Look at the next one. It says: Wear Spirella Corsets." (Laughter.)

Don't let us be unduly disturbed because we don't keep all the rules that were kept two generations ago. I think it is likely that in this generation no real agreement is possible between the extremely divergent views represented by Facism or Nazism, on the one hand, or Communism, on the other, because of the differences of the background, but if we can only come to see one another's point of view, even if we can't get agreement we may get amity and it seems to me in the hope of that amity which the next generation may be able to build on as a firm foundation, it is vitally important that the Commonwealth of Nations should realize and recognize that the one thing that has to stand firm is this blood brotherhood that holds us together. Gentlemen, if we don't like a man or woman, if we don't like another person we can leave that person out of our lives. If that person becomes too troublesome law and th police will give us protection but we can't leave nations out of our lives. We have got to live with them and we can't put nations in pigeon-holes. Pigeon-holes are good enough things for pigeons but they won't hold nations and I wonder if we are trying to make the younger generation see that it is still true that peace will be obtained only at the cost of eternal vigilence. Do we see that they know, either through us or through reading, something about the war scares of the past, something about the things that have been deliberately planned by the munitions-mongers? Do they know wars have been deliberately planned by statesmen for self-aggrandizement? Do they know war does not spring up over night, that there is an insidious thing called propaganda?

There is a book in our Reference Library, a book called "Falsehood in Wartime," written by a man called Ponsonby. It cost only twenty-five cents. It is not obtainable now but it is priceless. It just shows what propaganda can do, falsehood in wartime. Do your youngsters realize and remember that in the Crimean War English-speaking people fought on the side of the Turks and thousands of lives were given up fighting the Russians, and that in the last war thousands of lives were given up fighting with Russians against the Turks? How crazy it all is!

Do we teach them, too, that when they are disturbed about details in the present economic system that they are not irreparable? When a youngster comes to us with a story, as a man named Joad tell us, in a crystallized form he tells a story of a poor miner's cottage and the little girl comes in cold, there is no fire and the little girl says to her mother, "Mother, why isn't there any fire?" The mother says, "Because we have no coal." "But, Mother, why have we no coal?" "Because Father is out of work." "But, Mother, why is Father out of work," "Because there is too much coal."

Gentlemen, it is true. It is true and what is our answer when these youngsters come to us with a case like that? What can we say, except to try and explain to them that through the progress of so-called civilization, England can never again sell her coal in equal quantity as she did a quarter of a century ago unless there is some big chemical development, that the incoming of oil-driven engines, that the steady development of water-made electrical power has taken away for all time a great lump of that coal market and all that you can do is to help to tide over, but the solution that is sometimes offered means more chaos and not less chaos. Do we help our youngsters to understand these fundamentals?

Sometimes we forget, too, that when we talk about tradition we lean back as if it were a chair on which we could sit. We forget that tradition is something that we are making today and that the very thing that we do now may become a tradition for the next generation and a pattern for their actions. And, Gentlemen, all that one can suggest is the fullest intercourse in thought. I, personally, have a fanatical belief in the value of a public library system in any country toward producing that. Here, in Toronto, we buy every English and American book that we think we can profitably use and no class of book has grown more rapidly in public use this last ten years than the books on economics, on social questions, on political questions. The pit is bottomless. We cannot keep up with the demand and the only way, Gentlemen, to get away from propaganda is to make it possible for people to read both sides of a story. If we have faith, as we have, if we have faith in democracy we must go back to its very basis and believe that if both sides of a story can be told honestly the people will choose what is the right and what is best in the long run and in this city, Gentlemen, the money that you spend on your public library system gives you a protection for a continued sanity of thought.

One of the finest gestures of appreciation, I think, that the Toronto Public Library ever received was when a few months ago Miss Nora Lewis, the daughter of the late Senator Lewis, handed over as a trust, two $1,000 bonds, the income to be spent on books that the library might be otherwise unable, financially, to buy.

In your Reference Library here you have the finest collection of Canadiana in the world. Isn't it meet and proper that the history of our Lady of the Snows should be kept in her own country and I would like to suggest to you, not merely from the point of view of Toronto but whoever may be listening, that some effort should be made individually to see that the current historical material is not let run to waste. You have no idea now how difficult it is to pick up valuable historical material, even so little as a hundred years old and, Gentlemen, in this audience, there must be a consciousness today that documents, letters, correspondence of one sort or another, reports, unique materials, which a hundred years from now will make history, is just being allowed to run to waste and in whatever library you are interested, that material should be stored. If I may quote a hackneyed phrase, Thomas Carlyle once said that the true university of these days is a collection of books, and I wonder if we realize how true that is at this moment, for the vast majority of the population of any city, anywhere in the world. It is their only chance of continued education and if you look to the youngest generation, isn't that more true than ever? Only a trivial minority of them will ever see the inside of a university. Where are they to get their continued education then? It becomes pathetic when you think that they are willing to read, willing to try and learn, and often the material that is necessary for that perfectly simple step is lacking.

Gentlemen, we have a duty, a duty to try and see as far as we can that this younger generation is equipped. And you and I may have a pride in our democracy, we may believe that it is our protection for the freedom in which we believe. We may have a pride in our integrity, we may have a pride in our common allegiance to the Crown, a Crown which appeals both to our emotions and to our intelligence, it is a priceless heritage, but are we passing it on to the next generation? Will they inherit it with a recognition of what it can mean? Can we say, as Kipling said in "Our Lady of the Snows:"

Carry the word to my sisters,
To the Queens of the east and the south,
I have proven faith in the heritage
By more than word of mouth.

A nation spoke to a nation,
A throne sent word to a throne,
"Daughter am I in my Mother's house,
"But Mistress in my own."

The gates are mine to open,
The gates are mine to close,
But I abide by my Mother's house,
Said our Lady of the Snows.

(Prolonged applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr, Sanderson, may I thank you on behalf of this meeting and all others within the sound of your voice for this address today. A man of such experience as you have had not only personally, but in the gathering as you have of the ideas of others, is invaluable to this country—yes, invaluable to the whole of the British Empire and the whole of the world. The education of the masses is the solution to many of our difficulties, as you have pointed out and the answer which we might expect from you, of course, is BOOKS.

I want also to thank you for the final analysis you have given of some of the differences of the people of the different parts of the Empire. It is quite meet and proper that this should have been given in this forum of the Empire Club of Canada which stands for a United Empire. I thank you very much. (Applause.)

TENNIS IN THE EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY FRED PERRY

Thursday, 22nd April, 1937

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, the Empire Club of Canada is delighted today to welcome to its meeting those who take a prominent part in the game of tennis. We have also the pleasure of welcoming delegates or attendants at the Conference of the Adult Education Association which is meeting in Toronto, and I would be indeed remiss if I did not take this opportunity of bidding welcome to Captain E. A. Baker, the Manager of the Canadian Institute for the Blind who is with us today. (Applause.) Our chief welcome, however, is extended to the guest-speaker, sitting on my right from whom you will hear later.

The type of sport engaged in by a nation and the manner in which the people of that nation participate in that sport is now regarded as a great indication of the future of that nation. British tradition in the matter of "playing the game," as we call it, has permeated the sports of the British people themselves and has spread its influence throughout not only the whole of the British Empire, according to its political boundaries, but the whole of the British Empire according to its influential boundaries, which is the whole of the civilized world. Our speaker today is an outstanding example of that sportsmanship which demands and gets fairness in the strenuous play of that most strenuous game of tennis, a game which a generation ago might not be so regarded but which today is one of the most exacting in demanding the greatest amount of nerve, temper control, and physical stamina. The prowess of Fred Perry in the realm of tennis is well known to all. He has been an amateur champion of the world three times at Wimbledon and three times in the United States. He has won championships in Australia, in France and in many other countries. He is conceded to be the chief strength which brought the Davis Cup back to England. Incidentally, he is no mean golfer and he is a champion at table tennis. In this connection I had thought today of dispensing with our good-looking head table guests and setting up a table for table tennis and taking on Mr. Perry myself. (Applause.) I found an obstruction in that regard. My manager wouldn't permit me to play in public, so I will have to content myself with watching him tomorrow night at the Maple Leaf Gardens and deciding whether I would have beaten him or whether I would have been beaten in the match of table tennis which is not to be.

I have great pleasure in calling on Mr. Perry to address us today. (Applause.)

MR. FRED PERRY: Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club of Canada: I am on the spot. As a tennis player I am a very fine speaker. As a speaker, an exceptionally good tennis player. When speaking I really am all fingers and thumbs and should be on the court. As a matter of fact, they tell me that I do most of my talking on the court so you won't have to expect too much from me now. They tell me you have a distinguished list of speakers and I think you are in for a new low. (Laughter.) Actually, Gentlemen, there must be something in this Empire Club business. Your President said, "We have a very nice crowd today," and I can assure you, after the last three and a half months, I am very good at counting crowds. However, be that as is may, Gentlemen, all I can say is this, that you must have served an exceptionally good lunch today because you certainly couldn't be coming to listen to the speaker.

I read on this card that has been around to every member that you are to have a speech by Fred Perry. Well, I take it they left off the 'Mr.' because I am professional. (Applause.) However, Gentlemen, I am happy to tell you that the management of the hotel *did* put *Mr.* Perry on my place ticket so, at least when I go out of the hotel and pay the bill, I am still Mr. Perry.

A few days ago when a Torontonian (I think that is what you call them) asked me if I would mind coming to a luncheon and making a nice little speech, I told him I would be delighted to come to the luncheon and make a nice little speech. We have been doing that at Oshkosh, and many other towns on the route. I have spoken in everything from hotel lobbies to girls' schools but never yet had to face anything like this. As for talking over the air, I am not any too good, except on sponsored broadcasts. (Laughter.) But, Gentlemen, I have been fooled. Mr. Purkis said, "Would you mind talking on your tennis throughout the world?" I said, "That is very easy. I have two speeches, one on arriving in a town, and the second for use when leaving. One good, and one bad, depending on what kind of reception we had." I thought talking about tennis around the world might be quite easy here. All I had to do was write in the word 'Toronto' instead of Syracuse, or Schenectady, or whatever it was. But I find I am talking on "Tennis in the Empire," and that stumps me, but I will try to give you some impressions.

Tennis players, or should I say the amateur tennis players are players who have a good time. We professional tennis players should be really called business men and we have a good time. While you work maybe from nine until five,- my hours in the office used to be from ten to eleven, from eleven to eleven-thirty, coffee; from eleven-thirty to twelve-thirty, then from twelve-thirty to two-thirty for lunch; then from two-thirty to three-thirty; from three-thirty to four for tea, and from four to a quarter of five. Now, I have much longer hours. I work from maybe nine until nine-thirty, depending on how long it takes. I then have a drink—of water, of course—then I proceed to play a gentle boys' doubles until a quarter to twelve. If the management is particularly lenient we get an hour of rest in the hotel. Otherwise, we get on a train about midnight or five minutes after midnight and sleep the sleep of the just (I like that expression) until maybe 7.30 when we are awakened by the Customs Officer—it was five-thirty this morning—and we arrive at the town about eight where we meet the gentlemen of the press and as professionals we always find it much easier to be nicer to the press. I know my friends right underneath won't mind that. After all, live and let live. Then, we have a little time for breakfast when we meet the Lord Mayor and tell him how wonderful his town is. Then a little lunch, maybe a sleep or a movie and on we go again. Such is the life of a professional tennis player. It is not easy. You have to work hard and you have to produce the goods. Otherwise, we have great difficulty in getting back into that town again.

As an amateur you go round and round the world. Instead of taking over night to get from New York to Los Angeles by air, you take a boat and have a jolly good time for three weeks. It is really the same thing only much easier. In my amateur days I had a good time. I also had some bad moments, many of them. I have probably seen more countries in the world than I have hairs on my head. I say that because my hair is fast receding since getting up here to make this speech.

However, I should like to give some impressions of my career as an amateur. I used to start out, possibly being in England in April, in the rain. In May we would go to Paris for the French Championships, in about a hundred degrees. If we won we were great fellows. If we didn't it was just too bad—we weren't any good anyway. Then, we shipped off to London and started to play Wimbledon, just a little place outside of London, with a small tennis court surrounded by a very great stand. The idea of the stand is, as you know, solely for the purpose of anyone wishing to watch being able to walk in and do so at no cost. However, Wimbledon goes on until the third or fourth day of July when we were allowed a couple of days rest during which time we could go to the office and catch up with our mail—if any. Then, we would be shipped to Eastbourne, or we could drive if we were lucky enough to possess a car, or knew anyone who had a girl friend who had a car. Anyway, we got to Eastbourne and trained for the Davis Cup. We played the Davis Cup, possibly the last week in July and then there was always a boat going to America about the third of August and for the last seven years I have never missed that boat, and have arrived in New York and started the round of tournaments there. After the National Singles, there was a quick trip across to Los Angeles which is, as you know, famous for its tennis. Hollywood is a place quite different from any other in the world. Usually in London, at the tennis tournaments you play a lot of tennis and if you are very lucky you have a good time on a couple of nights or so. In Hollywood, you are very unlucky if you play tennis on two days That is the difference between tennis in Hollywood and tennis anywhere else. After that we usually discovered that there was a ship going to Australia and we would stop at Pango Pango, Tahiti, or any of the South Sea Islands, and arrive in New Zealand to play a series of exhibitions there before going to Australia. The fact is when we played in New Zealand we always annoyed the Australians very much because we were always the guests of the Australian Association and they never used to like us to play in New Zealand, because you know this sort of inter-Empire friendliness can be carried too far.

After about three months in Australia it meant getting back to Europe and to England. After all, I had a lot of work to do in England. We would go through India or back around South Africa. So, you gentlemen can see it is altogether a very nice life indeed, and during those six or seven years I have seen a great deal of the world. I have discovered they do have rain in parts of the world other than England. I have also discovered that Manchester is not the wettest place in the world and I have discovered that the earth is round. So in my five years I have learned something.

But I am to talk on Empire Tennis, and the only parts of the Empire I know are not very many. I have been to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Raratonga, which is also a part of the British Empire, though it is about the size of a twenty-five cent piece in comparison to Canada, and India, and any others you can think of. I am not very good at guessing. However, I should like to say first we have been sent out as sort of standard bearers. We have had a lot of bad work to undo. We have done some bad things, I must admit. After all, you cannot expect kids, more or less, of the age of twenty and twenty-one to go around and do exactly the right thing in the right place. I found I could fool some of the people some of the time and could never fool them all the time and the only things they caught up on were the things you did wrong. However, if you are going round the world trying to help your country in lawn tennis, or if you like to take it from a personal point of view, to make your own lawn tennis good, you do strike some situations where you don't know quite what to do. For instance, being from the Empire we went to Australia, via Tahiti. I didn't know where Tahiti was, but I knew there were a lot of people out there who used to lie on the beach in the morning, possibly had a glass of whiskey for lunch, lie on the beach all afternoon and have a glass of whiskey for tea. That is all we knew about Tahiti, outside of the fact that it was French. When the boat got in the Governor sent a special messenger, decked out in what-have-yous. He looked like a General, twice removed. You know what I mean. I think it's a Major, isn't it? He had all these decorations and things and he met us at the ship and saluted us roundly He asked us if we would be pleased to play at the Governor's house that afternoon. We said we would be delighted. We were all eager to play tennis. I can think of nothing nicer than playing tennis on your one day on an island like Tahiti. We did play tennis. Cars arrived together with a brass band, and the soldiers with their rifles and things formed a guard of honour. We arrived at the big house and we found that the tennis court was made of concrete. As most of you know, they have white lines on tennis courts and the idea is to hit the ball inside the white line. Where the white line finished so finished the concrete. After that it was sand and if you volleyed a ball you were on the concrete. If you were on the base line you stepped off in the sand. It was very amusing. Well, we played this game. I played with young Frank Wilde. I think the Canadian tennis players know him. Walter Martin there knows him. (They went on parties together in New York City.) I enquired of the Governor why the balls were bouncing so high all the time. He said, "As a matter of fact, the last man who played here was Jean Borotra. He left some tennis balls here." I said, "When was he here?" He said, "Oh, he was here in 1928." That was six years before. You see, by that time the balls were practically the size of golf balls. So, you understand that altogether we had a very amusing day, especially when I had to play with the Governor against the Governor's wife and some one else. But we had a lot of fun. He suggested as we were Englishmen we might like tea. We jumped at the chance and went in to have tea and found nothing but thousands of bottles of champagne. You know tennis players never drink and it was very unfortunate—all that nice champagne there. We couldn't drink at all. None of us ever did —much. (Laughter.) We decided that the officers might like it. The whole of the ship's company were there, or most of them and you can imagine that the next night at sea was not all that it might have been. That is by the way. Nothing ever happens like that in the Empire. O, no.

I came to Canada two years ago for the first time and they asked me if I would come up and play some exhibitions with American players. I asked them why they wanted me to play American players in Canada. I could play them in New York and there was no point in my playing in Canada to teach Canadian tennis players how to play tennis. Why couldn't I come up and play against Canadian players. After all, that is the essence of the game—to send the Canadian players abroad to the Dominions and let them play against Dominion players in their own country and attempt to teach them something. Our trouble was we were usually the ones who got taught. I came along and I must assure you I had one of the greatest two weeks I have ever had in my life. I think the Association made a little money out of the exhibitions. Of course there was nothing further from their thought than to make any money out of the tours. They are just to help the players along. I don't know what they do with the money but they have definitely started something now. I came back again last year and went as far as Vancouver and Victoria. This year I haven't been able to play Canadian players. I hope they can continue to look on me as a friend. I have known them for a long time but as a professsional I can't play in exhibitions to help along and make money for the Association but I can always play with men and make money for myself. After all, charity does begin at home.

I hear also from Mr. Kennedy, the Secretary of the Association that the English Association has decided to send out the English lady players next summer, so, all you boys of Toronto, there is a chance for you to learn some tennis. (We will skip that.)

Now, let me tell you how somehow or other tennis has been used to cement friendship between the different parts of the Empire. I don't suppose there is anyone who is British at all who knows anything about cricket. Cricket, after all, is quite a game in England. They do play a little and it has become of some importance between England and Australia. I hear also of cricket sometimes in South Africa and I understand there is even a cricket team in Canada. Of course, you know cricket is a very, very sporty garden-party sort of game. You wear nice white trousers and you have a nice lunch and you chase the ball around and bat and bowl and say polite things to each other—sometimes. There are other times when the game gets, as you might say, a little difficult, to say the least. I suppose there are few of you who have forgotten there was such a cricketer as Larwood. He is possibly the best bowler the world has ever seen or possibly ever will see. We have also in Australia a man called Bradman, possibly the finest batsman the world has ever seen or ever will see. The ony thing was that Bradman could not play Larwood. I don't know why. I don't read the newspapers. Why, I don't know. He just couldn't play him. There was something about Mr. Larwood's bowling that didn't suit Mr. Bradman's batting, and the Australians found that Mr. Larwood was bowling quite fast, and really it was quite a disgusting state of affairs. The first time it was all right. The second time it was really not quite so funny and the third time it was not funny at all and it was decided that his bowling was not exactly cricket. Then there was trouble. You can remember reading about it. It even got into the English papers. It was even in *The Times.* They don't put everything in *The Times* and when they do put it in *The Times* it means something. There was a lot of trouble. We were playing tennis in England at the time and the Australians were there also. Things began to happen. Just at that time we had beaten them in the Davis Cup and things did happen. It is very difficult, this cricket game. I must take it up and see what I can do about it. I can assure you at that time there was a great deal of trouble between the English and the Australians because one man was bowling in a way which did not conform, according to Australian cricket, with the best methods. I hold no brief for either of them. I am friendly with both of them. The whole idea in cricket, after all, is to get him out if you can, or kill him. In baseball if they can't get him out they 'bean' him. After all, the game was getting quite raucous, it was disgusting and there was definitely trouble. It was suggested to the

Association that they might send a team of tennis players to Australia. It was like walking into the lions' den. We weren't keen on going. The following year was the Centenary out there and we wanted to go then. We thought there would be a lot of fun at the Centenary. We knew there would be a lot of important people there and where important people are you always get a lot of feminine beauty. That of course didn't worry us much! We thought we would like to go to the Centenary and we knew if we went the year before we couldn't go back for the Centenary. It was decided that the team was not to go and a Committee was formed of very important men. I think that even the Board of Trade aroused themselves from their slumbers and sent a man along. They had a representative for tennis, for tiddly winks, and for cricket. They were all there. They said, "My God, Gentlemen, something has got to be done." And something was done. We were done. We were sent out into the lions' den.

So these four tennis players, Hughes, Lee, Wilde and myself—set sail one fine afternoon from San Francisco on a boat called the Maunganui for Australia, to settle international or, rather, political difficulties. We were the finest delegation that ever went to Australia. I don't mean maybe! We did more in three months than anyone could have done in twenty years. I am speaking quite seriously when I say that things were very difficult. We arrived in Australia. They raised the dickens with us because we played in New Zealand en route for Australia—blah, blah, blah! You can't possibly understand what the feeling was like out there. I wouldn't have believed it for anything in the world until I saw it.

We arrived in Australia late one night, about 11.30. The boat docked and the press men said, "What do you think of the harbour?" I said, "I am sorry, it is night and I haven't seen it." "Don't you think it is a good place?" We were in the harbour and it was dark and I hadn't seen the place. They said, "What do you think of the bridge?"

I, like a fool, said, "What bridge?" That's what comes of not being tipped off by the Board of Trade! So the fat was in the fire. I was the goat and the other boys were lucky enough to realize, after I had walked into it the way I did, what it was all about and they were given wonderful write-ups, and I was away down here.

You know, you get it even in the Toronto press sometimes. Skip that, too, I guess. I have been talking to these fellows all morning. We are great friends—I hope.

Well, we got out there and they said, "Well, you don't think so much of the bridge, do you?" I said, "I am terribly sorry. Maybe I can't see at night but I didn't see the bridge. I am sure it is the finest bridge in the world." And that was that.

We went to the hotel and the next morning at nine o'clock we were interviewed by the press. At nine-thirty, we attended the women's meeting, at ten o'clock, the needle work class, at ten-thirty, we met the Mayor, at a quarter to eleven we met Mrs. Mayor, at eleven-thirty we met with some other associations, and so it went on for two days. By this time we didn't know what it was all about. We had to make a lot of speeches and say how wonderful the place was, even though we didn't see it. They said, "Last year we had the cricketers here. They brought something we knew something about. What have you got with you?" So, Hughes walked into it and said, "We have got Perry with us." So I walked into it again. And he thought it was very funny. Well, I didn't, because I got the backwash and the feeling in sport was against any Englishman at the time, and I didn't blame them after what they went through. I have heard their side and I have heard the English side and I think the only thing was possibly an unfortunate choice of certain officials at the time. After all, Australia didn't like the colours of the Harlequin cap, and since they discovered that the cricketers played with a hard ball they didn't like Larwood's bowling either. I don't like a tennis ball when it hits in the right place. Altogether things were very difficult. From there we went to Melbourne, and there the first thing we had to do was to go out to a cricket match and be shown the exact spot where Larwood bowled from and where so-and-so stood, and where so-and-so stood, and where so-and-so stood. We knew nothing about cricket, we were tennis players. But we were told the story and what did we think? We didn't know. We said, "Well, after all, maybe Larwood was right," and that finished it. Gradually, over a period of time we managed to make them understand that it wasn't our fault. After all, it was a game, and if they are going to let the whole thing go up like that, the Lord knows what will happen. After all, if a certain two gentlemen in Europe would go out and play a game of tennis we might solve a lot of difficulties right now. I think we solved a lot out there. The Lord knows what I could do in ten minutes in Europe. So, it happened that the whole country was very anti-British at the time, as far as sports were concerned and they were definitely considering trade negotiations and all sorts of terrible things. They had to have the Duke of Gloucester come out the following year. They wanted to get the King out—everything to smooth the thing over. Meanwhile, we were walking right in, not knowing what was coming. And I can tell you quite honestly when you go to most countries in the world—you have some idea of what is liable to happen. When watching a football game in South America I have seen them collect 40,000 revolvers before the game commenced. Not bad going for an afternoon. I have been in Australia many times since and I have found them quite frankly, to be some of the finest sports the world has ever seen. My job later on took me out there and they were extremely nice and there was no ill feeling at all. The whole thing is now a thing of the past but for a few months it was very serious. Usually, when you go to a country you are welcomed or given a hearing until you prove yourself either a bad sportsman or a terrible tennis player. I used to usually prove myself to be a terrible tennis player and got so mad about it that I got it both ways. But at that time these Australians were so fed up with Englishmen that anything that came out of England with a tennis racquet, a polo stick, or a cricket bat, wouldn't be given a hearing at all. Unfortunately, one afternoon I happened to play well out there. That was the worst thing I ever did. From that time on they were gunning for me. Quist was playing a doubles with me one day and he hit me amidship and laid me flat. They loved it. About two points later, I hit Mr. Quist. It was not very funny. They didn't think it was. I laughed. I thought it was terribly funny, but when you are the only one in 15,000 laughing, you don't get much of a hearing. I can assure you that the feeling of sportsmanship out there was very tense and they were prepared to cut our throats. That is going a bit far but they really did not like English sports or sportsmen. Well we were sent out with rifles at our backs—either you take it, or—. We had the option of walking into that or going out next year. I think we really did something to avert trouble out there and I know now when I go to Australia I have a great number of friends and they really are some of the finest fellows in the world. I can assure you, after we had been out about eight weeks they realized that it wasn't our fault, that we were tennis players, and that they had been a bit hasty and, well—so much with cricket, you are lawn tennis players. And they treated us like kings and everybody had a good time.

One thing is certain, I haven't done very much but that is one thing I can take a coronation medal for—I don't think I will get one because I am a pro—but that will be, I think, my one claim to fame—I did do something the Board of Trade couldn't do.

Then, too, we went to New Zealand and to South Africa. There have been many teams go to South Africa, mostly mixed. You know what happens to mixed teams. The girls play tennis and the boys play tennis. That is all. We had three or four teams out there before. Each time something extraordinary had happened. The last time out there, Godfrey, the Captain of the team, married Miss MacRane, also on the team, at a place called Kimberley. Perhaps he thought he might get diamonds cheap there. They were married. You know when there are married couples on the team it means half the team is here and half is there. You never get any place. (Laughter.) We went out there. We had a mixed team. We had Pat Hughes, Harold Lee and myself—the three musketters who got into more trouble than anybody ever did in their lives before. There was Betty Nuthall, Eileen Wittingstall and Mary Heeley. They, in their turn had some very fine players and we shot around from the coast up to 3,000 feet, back to the coast, then up to 3,000 feet and back to the coast again. We never knew where we were. On the coast the balls bounced low; up at 3,000 feet the balls bounced all over your head. They had one team that played in the high spots and one that played in the low spots. You know, with ladies sometimes it is terribly difficult. Owing to unforseen circumstances they are not always at their best. Our girls were never at their best. Mary Heeley as a player is a sort of "get-'em back" artist, and likes to stay away from the base line, about a couple of yards behind. These balls in South Africa were bouncing about fifteen feet in the air and Mary ought to have had a hook on her dress to hang on to. The stopnetting Betty Nuthall was large and husky and could hit the ball a very good wallop — mostly out, during the South African trip. Eileen Wittingstall is possibly one of the finest stylists in the game and we had a little team trouble, as usual. But I was not the cause, luckily. Apparently we were more or less two teams while we were out there and one team never knew what the other team was doing. Every time we got to a dinner there was half a team here and half a team there and it was very difficult. We had to get down to business because I am sure it didn't do England any good in South Africa at all. I know that the other teams didn't do much good and I am sure we didn't help that. You see if a team doesn't get on together it doesn't get on with people in the country, they don't have much of a chance to judge you and they judge Englishmen by what they see out of England. If we go around to places behaving very badly, not producing good tennis, or if we stay in night clubs until five or six in the morning, you understand they think the Englishman is not any too good. If, on the other hand, when we got out there—we needn't be prim and proper, we can have our fun—we behave very well, (it doesn't cost anything,) if we don't stay out too late and if we are pleasant to everyone we have to be pleasant to, though we may say what we think of them when we get alone in our own suite, we can really do a lot for the Empire.

When I was an amateur, we used to leave on tours—Hughes, Lee and myself—we travelled the world three times and used to try to map out what we were going to do. Each one tried to figure out or find out somehow the most important people that we had to be nice to, and those who didn't matter quite so much, and the others who didn't matter at all. We tried to figure out a schedule or series of signs. This is a fact, though we didn't do it openly at all. We had to do it because what we did they judged England by, and over the three years I don't think we had a lot of trouble because we did manage to keep in well with all the people who mattered and they wrote glowing reports to England about what wonderful fellows we were so everyone was happy.

However, sometimes you do make mistakes and there are some paces where they naturally do not think so much of the English tennis players because they saw me there. I think Toronto is one of them. I can assure you we do have a pretty hard time in going around. I think you sent two players from Canada to Uruguay. I met one this morning—Ross Wilson. He said, "My lad, what did you get up to in Uruguay?" I haven't been there for seven years, but it is easy to remember, I suppose, and very hard to forget. They say, 'Once seen, never forgotten.' He said, "In the Argentine, you are very popular." Which is a help. We were only in Uruguary one day, but we do have a pretty tough time. I do thank you gentlemen for listening to me and I hope if I come up here again I may have a chance to talk to you privately instead of in this way. If I have made a lot of faux-pas, I hope you will excuse me. I have enjoyed it. I am just a tennis player and I thank you very much.

(Loud applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: *Mr.* Perry, may I thank you, on behalf of all who have heard you for this most interesting address. May I say also that the Empire Club, believing in brevity for introductions and votes of thanks and also for names of speakers, waits until a man is knighted or is a Viscount, and then we put that on the announcement card. We trust that on your next visit we shall have that opportunity. (Applause.)

You have given us a very interesting and may I say also, an amusing account of some of your experiences throughout the world. You have also shown us a bit of your philosophy and I think you have convinced us to such an extent that when we see you tomorrow night in the Maple Leaf Gardens we shall all be with you in spirit, believing as we do that you are an ambassador of goodwill for the British Empire throughout the world. Thank you very much, Mr. Perry. (Applause.)

IS DEMOCRACY OUTWORN

AN ADDRESS BY ARTHUR EUSTACE MORGAN, M.A.
PRINCIPAL AND VICE-CHANCELLOR, MCGILL UNIVERSITY,
MONTREAL, QUEBEC

Thursday, 29th April, 1937

MAJOR BALFOUR: Gentlemen, I have now the great pleasure of calling on our guest-speaker to address us today. We have had at the Empire Club during the current year or the year just past, many addresses, I might say some of our most interesting addresses on the subject of "democracy," a subject which is of very great import to us today. We have in the person of Principal Morgan an expert, I might say a specialist in considering that subject. Educated in England, serving in the Great War, he came to Canada and has already acquired here a great reputation as as educationist, as an author, as a student and as an administrator. He needs very little introduction by reason of certain publicity which he has had in the last few days. We shall hear from him on the subject: "Is Democracy Outworn?" and we trust we will get the answer that suits us the best.

Dr. Morgan.

MR. ARTHUR MORGAN: Mr. President and Gentlemen: I should like to thank you for this opportunity which your Club has given me of making an appearnce before so distinguished an audience of this your great City of Toronto and at the same time of having an opportunity to address an audience beyond these walls. I seize this opportunity with particular gladness because it gives me the chance of placing on record my very sincere gratitude to Toronto for the kindness and the courtesy and the hospitality which I have enjoyed here on many occasions during the past two years.

The subject of my discussion this afternoon is, as you say, Mr. President, one which has been very much debated during recent years but I think not too much debated because I believe that there is no subject of more importance to the future of mankind today than this very one which it is my privilege to discuss for a few moments.

The essence of democracy is the belief that men can do things together by a process of labouring with one another, kindly and intelligently, as against that other doctrine which holds that it is best for mankind to be told what to do. It has been said that the degree of co-operation developed in society is a measure of its civilization. There are those on the other hand who say that man is essentially a competitive, pugnacious animal, that those qualities are resident in his very nature and that co-operation is fine but unnatural. I am not much disturbed by these appeals to human nature which are made from time to time, as if when we have said that we have said all. If there is one thing which is plastic and malleable to circumstance and to will power, to time and to place, it is this very thing which we call human nature.

But let that alone. Let us see whether this other great principle of working together for a common good is so foreign to nature. I am going to read a message from one of our great modern philosophers, Professor Whitehead, formerly of Cambridge, now of Harvard. I have often read this, but I think it cannot be read too often because it seems to me to have profound importance:

"The trees in a Brazilian forest depend upon the association of various species of organism each of which is mutually dependent on the other species. A single tree by itself is dependent upon all the adverse chances of shifting circumstances. The wind stunts it: the variations in temperature checks its foliage: the rains denude its soil: its leaves are blown away and are lost for the purpose of fertilisation. You may obtain individual specimens of fine trees either in exceptional circumstances, or where human cultivation has intervened. But in nature the normal way in which trees flourish is by their association in a forest. Each tree may lose something of its individual perfection of growth, but they mutually assist each other in preserving the conditions for survival. The soil is preserved and shaded; and the microbes necessary for its fertility are neither scorched, nor frozen, nor washed away. A forest is the triumph of the organization of mutually dependent species. Further a species of microbes which kills the forests, also exterminates itself. Again the two sexes exhibit the same advantage of differentiation. In the history of the world, the prize has not gone to those species which specialised in methods of violence, or even in defensive armour. In fact, nature began with producing animals encased in hard shells for defence against the ills of life. It also experimented in size. But smaller animals, without external armour, warm-blooded, sensitive, and alert, have cleared these monsters off the face of the earth. Also, the lions and tigers are not the successful species. There is something in the ready use of force which defeats its own object. Its main defect is that it bars co-operation. Every organism requires an environment of friends, partly to shield it from violent changes, and partly to supply its wants. The Gospel of Force is incompatible with a social life." (Applause.)

That, Gentlemen, to my mind is a magnificent expression of a great truth, of immense importance to our modern considerations of this problem of the fitness of democracy and the possibility of its continuance. In fact, if I were to sit down now I should probably have said as much as I shall say when I sit down in half an hour's time, because it is all there in Professor Whitehead's fine paragraph.

Co-operation then is not the unnatural process which some have imagined, but in human affairs undoubtedly it is more diffcult than that simpler process found in early social relationships where an individual or a comparatively small group of individuals imposed certain systems and organizations on the many. Co-operation has been the object of mankind for millennia. The great quality of democracy is that it represents an attempt to achieve this co-operation from within, from below upward. It proceeds from the individual to society. Your autocracies, your oligarchies, are not anarchistic. They want government, which bespeaks co-operation of all members of society; but the difference is that the co-operation which they seek is imposed from above. It is the action of the will of the one or the few, and not the healthy flourishing of an individual desire from below to achieve that co-operation for a common social purpose. Historically it is the superimposed system of organization which is earlier. An autocracy or a tyranny is a far simpler form of social and political organization than a democracy. Given sufficient force concentrated with the governor, he can impose his will on society. Democracy challenges us in two ways: first because it implies quality, wide-spread throughout the individuals of society, and secondly for the very difficulty of its achievement.

To-day the whole attitude of the world toward democracy has changed. Thirty years ago it was a matter of unquestioned faith. Whether or not it could be achieved, democracy was ideally and in many cases practically the best form of government which mankind had developed. Now the attitude is completely changed. Countries which believed in and practised democracy have thrown it to the winds and even those countries where it still holds sway exhibit many doubts. The fact that there are so many talks on this subject, that there is so much discussion, as you have said, Mr. President, betokens that doubt. Some of us doubt negatively, some of us doubt positively, but those of us who believe most strongly in democracy feel, because of this doubt, that it is necessary to edify ourselves and others. I believe that democracy is the highest political and social organization which mankind has so far devised. Far be it from me to suggest that there has been any perfect practice of this idea. We are only groping toward the effective expression of democratic doctrine, and to-day what do we see? We see in the world around us a crashing of belief in this ideal under the stress of circumstances and political difficulties which thirty years ago we should never have expected.

As we look round the world we find that where democracy has toppled, the fall is to be accounted for by circumstances which were pre-existent. One of the greatest dangers to democracy is its premature adoption. Unlike autocracy it cannot be imposed from above: it means nothing if it is not a natural growth from below. In other words, it springs from the individual and it is only when you have the quality of political consciousness of the requisite degree that there is that citizenship, that skill in citizenship, which is necessary for the flourishing of democracy.

There are three countries mainly in the world today where the democratic system is especially impugned. The first one is Russia. But that was not the result of the destruction of a pre-existent democracy. It was the replacement of one tyranny by another. In Italy, however, there had been a very strong democractic idealism in the nineteenth century and if one examines the history of modern Italy over the last forty or fifty years, one is bound to come to the conclusion that the reason why democracy has been toppled in the dust in that country is because Italy did not succeed for one reason or another in developing a democracy which was dependent on a citizenship able to operate the system. The other great example of the destruction of democracy is Germany. There the cause is a little different. One found immediately after the Great War the sudden development into full flower of a great democratic system. I believe that German citizenship was not ready for it. It developed too quickly, like the flower which flourishes in a day and wilts in a night. Still beneath all that there is a quality of liberalism and good citizenship within the German frontiers today, the Germany of the great culture of the early part of the nineteenth century which, I believe, is not dead, although it may be dormant.

Your tyrannical, authoritarian government realizes the necessity of co-operation. It needs to bring together the citizenship of a country, scores of millions of people maybe, in a close system of interlocked work which is co-operation. And it is interesting to see what great stress is laid, perhaps particularly in Italy, on the necessity of this unitary idea of citizenship. It is a totalitarian state. The whole thing is knit together as one, and it is worth noting that the name given to the German system, is the Nationalist Socialist Party. It is a party which recognizes in name those doctrines of socialism which imply that very idea of co-operation among all grades and members of citizenship. Whether that is more than a name is a matter of discussion and examination, but in any case this idea is imposed from above and it is interesting to notice that this nominally socialist system, based on a doctrine of co-operation, is backed by the strong forces of massed German finance; and the same thing is true in Italy. Big business is behind these governments. The middle class group has been scared into support of these governments by the very careful exploitation of certain bogies. The simplest lever with these people is the bogey of communism, a godsend to Nazi and Fascist. There is a good deal of pandering to the middle class by the encouragement of small business and at any rate a nominal attack on combined business, particularly in the distributive trades. In this way in Germany and in Italy is shown the very real intention of knitting society together in a unitary system with the State as the composing force. The point I am trying to make to you, Gentlemen, is this: that the idea of co-operation which we regard as being essential to democracy is essential to all governments, and the tyrannies have not forgotten that. The difference, as I have said, is how it is produced and whence it springs.

In this discussion of dictatorships and democracies, there are those who will say that a dictatorship in difficult times has been shown historically to be safer, that you cannot trust the multitude in an emergency. That could be treated at some length, but all I am going to say to you, Gentlemen, in that respect is this: Safety to-day, as I see it, in its widest sense means the preservation of world peace so that mankind can co-operate; and without debating the matter theoretically I put it to you practically, is the peaceful co-operation of mankind to-day threatened more by the democracies or by the tyrannies? I think that question needs no answer.

Those of us who believe in democracy feel that it represents a great spiritual truth, the brotherhood of mankind which is based on the greatest of all qualities in life, namely love. That, after all, is the rock bottom of life. The dictatorships have made a claim to idealism. They have made their appeal, particularly to that part of humanity which is prone to idealism, which is prone to unselfishness, namely youth. As we become old we become case-hardened, we become chary of our actions in proportion to the hostages we have given to fortune. We compromise our ideals because we dare do no otherwise. Youth still takes the chance and it seems to me that it shows the extraordinary astuteness, perhaps the malign astuteness of those who are exploiting millions to-day to the destruction of their own liberty in appealing to this magnificent quality of the idealism of youth which refuses to put safety first. It is alas the youthful element of certain great people which is the very instrument of the destruction of its own freedom. That is the appalling thing, Gentlemen. I am not sure that this appeal to idealism is quite as genuine as it seems. The ideal which is placed before youth is "Not yourself but the state—this all-embracing, totalitarian state. Sacrifice yourself, you the individual, to the whole." And round that doctrine there is a flutter of flags, there are waves of emotion, there is noise, there is glamour to the eye. There are all the physical trappings to arouse the emotions which play around this idea which admitted has much of greatness in it. But if one looks a little more carefully beneath the surface, the picture is not quite so savoury. If you examine a little closer you may find that perhaps after all the state may be an individual, it may be Herr So-and-So, or Signor-Somebody else; and it may be that while youth is sacrificing itself, others are enjoying the loaves and fishes. The materialistic idea of reward is not absent from these new autocracies. It is rather unpleasantly evident, if one examines carefully.

But after all, Gentlemen, is there anything wrong in making a materialistic appeal? They say democracy appeals only to man's utilitarian ideas of comfort and material well-being. Why should we scorn these so long as they are justly combined and justly distributed? Remember this, that a great deal of the sanity of the political demands of the people, to which we belong, the British peoples, throughout the last century has been based on the fact that what is asked for and wanted has been something practical and practicable and measurable. It is an extremely dangerous thing to ask people to labour for things which appeal only to their emotions, which evoke merely excitement. But it is a very good test of government—I don't say it is the only test but it is a very good test of government—to ask, does it assist in organizing society? It only assists, it can't do it. Society must do that for itself. It is right that citizens should get a reasonably decent condition of life. I am not much impressed by the governments who say, "Look what you have done for us. Hurrah!" The British people are not much impressed by that kind of thing. Adventures in foreign lands and the waving of flags and the shouting of national anthems have their place in our sociology; but no system of organization, no government, is going to get away with that only.

Therefore I thing the materialistic element as a measure of government is a very sane and valuable criterion. There are certain people today who seem willing to starve so long as they can be told of the glorious way in which their brothers are shooting down black men. Whether that indicates high idealism or abated intelligence, I am not sure.

But perhaps the worst of all elements in certain of these autocracies is the fact that there is an exploitation such as has never been known in modern times of hate and cruelty. Hate and cruelty, its terrible child, are the offspring of all that negates the quality of love, which is the positive element of life. Love for my fatherland, love for an ideal state is a poor thing if I can be conscious of that love only by cruelty to those who are weaker than I. (Applause.) It is a poor patriotism, it is a poor idealism, it is a poor nationalism which can flourish only on shooting Ethiopians and massacring Jews. (Applause.)

Now, Gentlemen, I am not standing here pleading that democracy is the representation of all that is perfect and that what I disagree with represents all that is evil. There is one thing that we lack in our democratic system. It is faith. Democracy has done fine things practically, and we are a practical people; and we have been the spearhead of democratic doctrine and practice throughout the centuries. But we are perhaps apt to forget that there is and must be a core of faith, an idealism in democracy if it is to survive, especially when it is threatened and thwarted by what I believe to be false doctrines, inspired as they are by what I believe to be false idealism. The faith we need to develop today, and there never was a greater need, is the faith which our fathers held and died for, faith in individual liberty as the only foundation for the liberty of society. (Applause.) And to that end we must be prepared for self-sacrifice. It must be no mere cold-blooded argument, Gentlemen, it must be an enthusiasm. In these days enthusiasms have become unpopular with us. We have a man who knows modern youth, perhaps as well as any, Mr. Noel Coward, putting these words in the mouth of one of his characters, representing the spirit of disillusioned youth—one of the most appalling negations of faith, one of the most terrible expressions of atheism that I know. This character in one of his plays, "Post Mortem," speaks of "a sort of hopelessness which isn't quite despair, not localized enough for that. A formless, deserted boredom, everything eliminated, whittled right down to the essentials, essentials which aren't here." The nadir of cynicism. The denial of all the positive values of life. That is one of the most terrible aftermaths, perhaps the most terrible, of the Great War. We—I mean those who are the British stock—have a high responsibility in this regard. In the face of this denial of faith and on the other hand of the false enthusiasms which today are leading millions of young men down what I believe and think many of my same breed believe to be a false path, we have a high responsibility.

We have to recognize that our forefathers believed in truth as the basis of government. Democracy is the system which allows for the disentangling of truth from all that knot of affairs that surrounds every political social problem and it is only so far as their exist a spirit of passionate love of truth and a desire to do what is just that we shall be able to disentangle those knotted threads and find the solution of that problem. (Applause.) I am alarmed when I see in this country and the other countries of the Empire a too ready compliance with the processes of government. The basis of democracy is criticism—honest, constructive criticism—by every citizen, and attention to all those details which we too readily leave in cynical mood to the politicians. We must say, "This is our affair. We want to know the reason why." Then there would not be so much government by Order-in-Council and by bills run through in a few hours. We want a system with that flexibility of machinery which a democracy alone has. We do not want a rigid form of government, foreign to our whole psychological attitude and to our political tradition, which is the very nature of a tyranny. We are law-abiding peoples because we make and believe in the laws. Th best way to make a rebel out of a Briton is to treat him to government by tyrants.

So I say to you, Gentlemen, there lies on us a great responsibility. We have titles manifold, as the poet said. We who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake, we who hold those morals which Milton held; we have titles manifold. One of the greatest of them is the fact that we have done so much to build up democracy to the pitch at which it has arrived.

Probably this is the last time that I shall have the opportunity of meeting the majority of you here. Probably it is the last time I shall speak in this city. I would say to you this, from the bottom of my heart, that as a Briton, as a member of this great family of peoples to which we all belong, I believe that to-day the world depends on us and those others who speak the tongue which Shakespeare spoke and also that other great democracy, our fellow citizens in this country and our friends in France. The French and the British people and the United States of America, I believe, face the task of saving democracy, if it is to be saved. I believe that it must be saved in the end, because it is in the nature of things that man shall move toward greater liberty, toward greater co-operation, if not at this stage of his civilization, then after retrogression at the next. Come it must; it is in the courses of the stars. And, if I may use the words of that great man whose tongue we speak, Shakespeare, remembering that when he says England, he means something which to-day in spirit includes the whole of the Empire and the United States of America and all the democracies of the world, "Naught shall us rue, if England to herself do rest but true."

(Prolonged applause.)

Major Balfour: Principal Morgan may I express on behalf of all who have heard you to-day our thanks for your wonderful address. You have indeed given us an an opportunity of hearing many things to assist us in reaching a conclusion which will give an answer to the rhetorical question which was made the subject of your remarks, "Is Democracy Outworn?" and I think we shall answer that in the negative.

May I also take this opportunity on the last occasion on which I preside at this the Empire Club of Canada of thanking all for the support and encouragement they have given me during my year, not forgetting the larger audience on the radio whose encouraging remarks are of great assistance in any President's work of carrying on this or any other organization. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

ANNUAL MEETING

Thursday, 29th April, 1937

PRESIDENT: This is our Annual Meeting and our Constitution requires that certain business be now transacted. One is that the President should make a report. The second is that the Treasurer should make an interim report. The third, that election of officers and executive should be held.

The President now reports as follows: A full account of our proceedings and the year's work will be found in our Year Book. You may read it and judge for yourselves.

PRESIDENT: The next matter is the election of officers. We shall now receive nominations.

MR. GEORGE DAVIS: Mr. President, I present the Report of the Nominating Committee which duly recommends that the following be elected for the year 1937-38 Season:

President	R. M. HARCOURT
1*st Vice-President*	F. B. MATTHEWS
2*nd Vice-President*	H. WEBSTER
3*rd Vice-President*	W. MACLACHLAN
Hon. Treasurer	H. F. POWELL
Executive Committee	E. W. BICKLE
	H. C. BOURLIER
	J. D. CAMERON
	F. L. CLOUSE
	L CRAWFORD-BROWN
	F. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH, K.C.
	F. A. GABY
	W. M. HARGRAFT
	W HARPHAM
	L. JUNKIN
	J. P. PRATT, K.C.

B. K. SANDWELL
H. L. SOUTHALL
J. D. SPENCE, K.C.
W. D. STEWART
E. F. THOMPSON
CANON H. F. D. WOODCOCK

Immediate Past President ....MAJOR GORDON B. BALFOUR, K.C.

Representing the Past Presidents ....D. H. PORTER
J. H. BRACE
J. F. M. STEWART

PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, are there any other nominations. If not, I declare the nominations closed and those whose names you have heard elected by acclamation to the respective offices of the Empire Club of Canada.

I have now the great pleasure of calling the President-Elect, Mr. R. M. Harcourt, to take his seat at my left.

Gentlemen, may I say, before relinquishing this office that perhaps the most satisfactory aspect of the duties which I accepted a year ago, and have tried to fulfil, has been the realization that this Club provides a medium for the expressing of opinions, more particularly, I must confess, opinions calculated to stimulate sentiment in support of the British Empire. I have been gratified to learn of the large number of people who listen to our proceedings on the radio. I never knew exactly what "fan mail" meant before but it surprised me to find letters coming from the United States and our north country, as well as telephone calls from many people nearer to this hotel. I believe that this Club fulfils a great purpose in the educational life of our province and I sincerely hope in the years to come it will continue under the name of the Empire Club of Canada.

In retiring I have only to say that the Club and indeed our radio listeners are very fortunate and are to be congratulated on the election of Mr. R. M. Harcourt, and I am going to call on him to say a few words.

MR. R. M. HARCOURT: Mr. Past President and Members of the Empire Club of Canada: Standing before you is a very much honoured member of this Club but he is not unmindful of the responsibility which has fallen upon him.

On either side of me today I have Past Presidents of the Club, men who are experienced in the office that I have undertaken. You have given me a strong Executive and I am sure of the support and co-operation of both and I now solicit your support and your co-operation.

That which lies behind our motto, "Canada and a United Empire" is very dear to me and the fulfilment of the objects of this Club are well worth working for in my opinion. I assure you that my chief concern for the ensuing year will be to further the interests of this Club and its ideals.

I welcome the new members of the Executive and I sincerely hope that they will find as much pleasure in their work as I have during the past few years. To those who have retired from the Executive I warn them that their counsel will often be sought.

To you, Major Balfour, and your Executive our congratulations and thanks are due for a very instructive and interesting year. Your enthusiasm and hard work in the interests of this Club are greatly appreciated and will be an inspiration to those who follow you.

In expressing my appreciation, may I remind you, one and all, that you are the Empire Club of Canada. Your support for the coming prosperity of this Club will at all times be most welcome. I thank you. (Applause.)

EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONT.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1937

Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1936			$1,396.18
RECEIPTS			
Fees Received	$4,376.00		
Bank Interest	35.85		
Sale of Year Books	11.00		
Sale of Luncheon Tickets	183.00		
		$4,605.85	
PAYMENTS			
General Expenses:			
Postage, Printing and Stationery	$2,323.66		
Telegrams and Telephone	303.15		
Fees and Expenses of Speakers	317.17		
Recording and Publicity	448.90		
Luncheon Expenses	596.20		
Miscellaneous Expense	138.94		
		$4,128.02	$ 477.83
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1937			$1,874.01

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario for the year ended 30th April, 1937; that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required and that in our opinion, the above statement of Receipts and Payments is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the transactions of the Club according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Club for year ended 30th April, 1937.

H. T. JAMIESON, & COMPANY,
Chartered Accountants.
Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
28th May, 1937.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

PAST HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

1903-1912	Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1913-1926	Field Marshal H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.
1927-1931	Rt. Hon. Viscount Willingdon, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.
1931-1935	Rt. Hon. The Earl of Bessborough, P.G., G.C.M.G.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

1902-05	Brig.-Gen. James Mason.*
1905-06	Rev. William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1906-07	J. P. Murray, Esq.*
1907-08	J. F. M. Stewart, Esq., B.A.
1908-09	D. J. Goggin, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.*
1909-10	Elias Clouse, Esq., M.D.
1910-11	J. Castell Hopkins, Esq., F.S.S.*
1911-12	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Esq., K.C.
1912-13	Rt. Rev. James F. Sweeney, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
1913-14	Mr. Justice James Craig.*
1914-15	Lt.-Col. R. J. Stuart.
1915-16	Albert Ham, Esq., Mus. Doc.
1916-17	James Black Perry, Esq.*
1917-18	Norman Sommerville. Esq., M.A., K.C.
1918	F. J. Coombs, Esq.
1919	R. A. Stapells, Esq.
1920	Arthur Hewitt, Esq.*
1921	Brig.-Gen. C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., LL.D.
1922	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923	Ellis H. Wilkinson, Esq.
1924	William Brooks, Esq.
1925	Rev. R. N. Burns, D.D.
1926	Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, Hon. A.D.C.
1927	Col. Alexander Fraser, LL.D., A.D.C.*
1928	Robert H. Fennell, Esq.
1929	Hugh S. Eayrs, Esq.
1930	John D. Spence, Esq., K.C.
1931	H. G. Stapells, Esq.
1932-33	Lt.-Col. Geo. A. Drew, V.D., A.D.C.
1933-34	Major W. Jas. Baxter, M.C.
1934-35	Dana H. Porter, Esq.
1935-36	J. H. Brace, Esq.

* Deceased.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

YEAR 1937-38

Officers:

President: R. M. HARCOURT

First Vice President: F. B. MATTHEWS

Second Vice President: H. WEBSTER

Third Vice President: W. MACLACHLAN

Honorary Secretary-Treasurer: H. F. POWELL

Executive Committee

E. W. BICKLE
H. C. BOURLIER
J. D. CAMERON
F. L. CLOUSE
L. CRAWFORD-BROWN
F. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH, K.C.
F. A. GABY
W. M. HARGRAFT
H. HARPHAM
L. JUNKIN
J. P. PRATT, K.C.
B. K. SANDWELL
H. L. SOUTHALL
J. D. SPENCE, K.C.
DUNLOP STEWART
E. F. THOMPSON
CANON H. F. D. WOODCOCK

Immediate Past President

MAJOR GORDON B. BALFOUR, K.C.

Past Presidents

D. H. PORTER
J. H. BRACE
J. F. M. STEWART

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1,) The organiztion shall be called the Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1 for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a,) (b,) (c,) and (d,) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article active resident and associate members shall pay an annual fee of $4.00 and non-resident members $3.00, payable on the first day of October in each year in respect of the Club

year from May 1 to April 30 then current. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of April in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; the Executive Committee shall consist of these officers and 17 other members who with the officers shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. All Past Presidents shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President and such Advisory Council shall elect annually three members, who, together with the retiring President, shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. And the officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office till April 30, of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at a regular or special meeting to be held not less than four, and not more than six weeks before such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:—

(*a*) Finance Committee.
(*b*) Speakers' Committee.
(*c*) Membership Committee.
(*d*) Constitution Committee.
(*e*) Luncheon and Reception Committee.

(*f*) Publicity Committee.
(*g*) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. The Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at a regular meeting of the Club held during the month of May.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its aproval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

LIFE MEMBERS

Borden, Sir R. L.
Bruce, Hon. Dr. Herbert A.

Clouse, Dr. Elias
Coombs, F. J.

Fasken, Alex., K.C.
Fetherstonhaugh, F. B., K.C.

Gibbons, John J.

Ham, Dr. Albert

Kernahan, W. T.

MacDougall, A. Roy
MacKay, John
MacKendrick, Col. W. G.
McWhinney, W. J., K.C.
Murdoch, James Y., K.C.

Pellatt, Sir H. W.

Scythes, J. A.
Stapells, H. G.
Stapells, R. A.
Stewart, J. F. M.
Stuart, Lt.-Col. R. J.
Sweeney, Rt. Rev. James F.

Tindall, H. B.

Wood, E. R.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Abbs, Chas. E.
Adams, A. A.
Adams, G. W., K.C.
Agar, Norman E.
Aird, Sir John
Aird, W. H.
Aitchison, J. F.
Alexander, Dr. S. L.
Allan, N. B.
Allen, Dr. David
Allen, Geo. H.
Allen, James B.
Alley, B. P.
Alley, Lt.-Col. Herbert R.
Allnutt, Rev. F. B.
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Anderson, Dr. H. B.
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Andison, T. H.
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Balfour, Major G. B., K.C.
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Barber, Geo.
Barber, William

Barrett, Wallace
Bastedo, Norman H.
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Batten, W. Howard
Batten, Reg. A.
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Bealey, Ernest R.
Beaton, A. H., K.C.
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Benson, D. F.
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Best, T. Harrison
Bickle, E. W.
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Blackburn, D. D.
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Blackstock, Col. G. G.
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Denton, His Honour Judge
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Jacob, E. R.
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Johnston, Erskine B.
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Sandwell, B. K.
Sargeant, E. S.
Saunders, E. M.

Saunders, S. J. Reginald
Sawers, Rev. Canon F. J.
Scales, C. H.
Scandrett, J. H.
Scheuer, Edmund
Schiff, Emile
Schurman, C. D.
Scott, S. C.
Scott, W. S.
Scroggie, Geo. E.
Seagram, J. W.
Sedgewick, Harry
Seitz, J. J.
Seixas, E. F.
Selby, Reginald
Selby, W. T. H.
Sexsmith, J. Alex.
Shannon, Frank
Shapley, W. H.
Sharp, Dr. Fletcher
Shenstone, Dr. Norman
Sherring, J. B.
Shields, C. B.
Shier, Dr. R. V. B.
Sifton, Major Clifford
Simpson, Jas. I.
Sinclair, Neil
Singer, J. G.
Smallpiece, V. N.
Smith, F. D. L.
Smith, Major Howell
Smith, H. M.
Smith, Paul L.
Smith, Victor A.
Smoke, A. L.
Smythe, Col. R. E.
Snider, C. H. J.
Snively, Major A. C.
Sommerville, Norman, K.C.
Sommerville, Wm. E.
Southall, H. L.
Sparling, Wm. F.
Sparrow, J. M.
Spence, A. G. A.
Spence, John D., K.C.
Springett, Rev. E. J.
Squire, S. L.
Stanford, F. T.
Stanley, J. N.
Stanley, Richard T.
Stephenson, H. R.
Stewart, A. G.
Stewart, Alan E.
Stewart, D. E.
Stewart, R. T.
Stewart, Dunlop
Stewart, Wm. J.
Stillwell, Rev. Dr. H. E.
Stodart, A. B.
Stoddart, W. H.
Strachan, James
Strathy, G. B., K.C.
Strathy, J. G. K.
Stubington, Geoffrey
Stupart, Sir Fred.
Suydam, J. C.

Tate, H. W.
Taylor, Donald
Taylor, E. Geo. T.
Taylor, E. P.
Taylor, Jos.
Taylor, J. G.
Taylor, Rex F.
Taylor, W. D.
Teakle, R. B.
Tedman, Harry M.
Thom, Kenneth
Thomas, D. A.
Thompson, E. F.
Thompson, Geo. W.
Thompson, Gordon V.
Thompson, J. W.
Thomson, H. G.
Thomson, W. R.
Tidy, Major Frank O.
Tinning, Stanley E.
Tisdall, Chas. P.
Tobias, Lionel C.
Tolchard, F. D.
Topping, Victor
Torrance, R. D.
Tory, John A.
Toye, Eldred D.

Trow, Dr. E. J.
Tucker, Edward J.
Tugwell, H. C.
Turner, E. H.
Turner, James
Turner, T. O.
Tuteur, M. P.
Twiss, B. A.
Tyler, P. P.
Tyrell, H. V.
Tyrell, Wm.
Tyrrell, E. C.

Urquhart, Norman C.

Van Blaricom, G. B.
Van Koughnet, Arthur
Van Lane, J. F.
Van Nostrand, C. I.
Van Zant, M. E.
Vaughan, J. J.
Venables, Francis G.
Verral, Geo. W.
Von Maur, Jacob D.

Waldie, Kemp
Waldie, R. S.
Walker, Charles
Walker, E. B.
Walker, H. C.
Wallace, H. LeRoy
Wallace, Malcolm W.
Walmsley, John L.
Walmsley, Joseph
Walsh, Fred T.
Walsh, J. E.
Ward, Rev. James E.
Wardlaw, J. W.
Wardlaw, T. D.
Warren, Dr. C. A.
Warren, F. A.
Warren, Harold D.
Warwick, Geo. R.
Warwick, R. D.
Waterman, Frank E.
Watson, Geo. E.
Watson, H. E. G.
Watson, J. Graeme
Watson, J. P.
Watson, T. H.
Watson, W. B.
Watson, W. G.
Watson, Col. W. H.
Watson, Dr. W. V.
Watt, J. L.
Webster, A. Guy
Webster, Howard
Wegenast, F. W., K. C.
Welch, Frank
Welch, Thos. A.
Werlich, Angus A.
Weston, J. F.
Wheatley, E.
White, Frank W.
White, Sir Thomas, K.C.
Whitehead, J. H.
Whiteley, J.
Whittingham, Major H.
Wildblood, Geo. W.
Wilkes, F. Hilton
Wilkinson, E. H.
Williams, A. W.
Williams, H. H.
Willinsky, Dr. A. I.
Willoughby, J. A.
Wills, Harold A.
Wilson, Arthur M.
Wilson, Geo.
Wilson, G. D.
Wilson, J. Lockie
Winchell, L. F.
Winter, L. A.
Wiseman, A. M.
Wolfenden, Hugh H.
Wood, F. P.
Wood, L. M.
Wood, Thos. C.
Woodcock, Rev. Canon H. F. D.
Woodland, C. W. I.
Woollcombe, E. L. P.
Wright, E. Frank
Wright, L. V.
Wright, Dr. W. W.

Young, Frank
Young, John A.
Young, W. T.

Zinkan, Dr. E. I.

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS

Baker, Robert P.
Beaumont, Jos.
Boxer, Reginald N.
Bradley, E.
Burge, Glyn R.

Cawthra-Elliott, Maj.-Gen. H. M.
Cockeram, Robt.

Davis, Aubrey
Dolph, C.
Gibson, W. R.
Grainger, A. H.

Hamilton, W. E.
Hughes, Gordon R.

Jackson, E. H.
Kidd, Hon. T. Ashmore
Lovell, E. A.
McLaughlin, Col. R. S.
McLean, W. A.

Over, Spencer H.
Pearce, F. S.
Ponton, Col. W. N., K.C.

Raven, Rev. C. C.
Richardson, Dr. R. N. C.

Shergold, Lt.-Col. C.
Sinclair, Dr. D. J.
Smith, W. Harland
Steele, C. E.
Stirling, Wm. T.

Taylor, R. F.
Torrance, R. L.

Vincent, J.

Whidden, Dr. Howard P.
Wideman, Albert
Wideman, Harvey